





Mark Beauchamp Peacock.



1461
T R A V E L S

IN

SWITZERLAND,

AND IN THE

COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO

WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.

FROM

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON; AND

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THE THIRD EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

1794.

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SWITZERLAND

AND THE

COUNTRY OF THE GIBSON

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

WILLIAM WELLS

FROM

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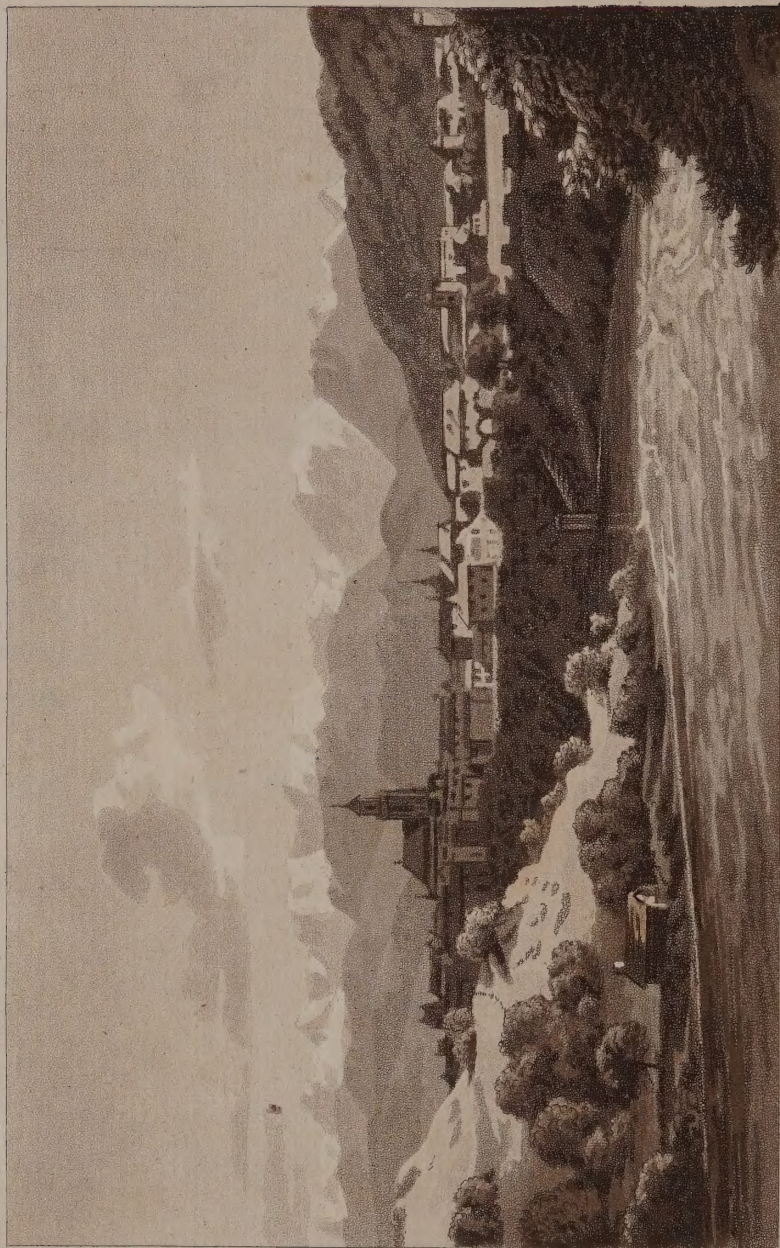
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J. C. Smith del.

Berne?

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L E T T E R S, &c.

L E T T E R 55.

TOWN AND CANTON OF BERNE.

Berne, Sept. 16.

I WAS very much struck, upon my entrance into Berne, with its singular neatness and beauty. The principal streets are broad and long, not strait, but gently curved: the houses are mostly uniform, built of a greyish stone upon arcades. Through the middle of the streets runs a lively stream of the clearest water, in a stone channel, while several fountains are not less ornamental to the place than beneficial to the inhabitants. The river Aar almost surrounds the town, winding its course over a rocky bed much below the level of the streets; and for a considerable way forming by its steep and craggy banks a kind of natural rampart. The cathedral, a noble piece of Gothic architecture, stands upon a platform raised at a great expence above the bed of the river, and commands a most extensive view. The adjacent country is richly cultivated, and agreeably diversified with

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hills,

hills, lawns, wood, and water; the river flows rapidly below, and an abrupt chain of rugged and snow-capt alps bounds the horizon. Such an assemblage of wild and beautiful objects would in any place present a most striking prospect; but its effect becomes greatly heightened when seen from the midst of a large town.

ACCORDING to the native historians, Berne was built by Berchtold the Fifth, duke of Zæringen; and was, from its foundation, an imperial city. Upon the death of Berchtold in 1218, the emperor Frederic the Second conferred upon the inhabitants considerable privileges, and compiled also a code of legislation, which forms the basis of their present civil laws. The liberty which this city enjoyed, attracted many inhabitants from the adjacent country, who found a safe asylum from the oppression of the nobles. Although Berne from its first foundation was engaged in perpetual wars with its neighbours, and for some time with the house of Austria; yet it continued to aggrandise itself by degrees, and considerably to enlarge its territory. In the year 1353, Berne acceded to the Helvetic confederacy; and possessed such great power, even at that early period, as to obtain the second rank among the Swiss cantons. Since the acquisition of the Pays de Vaud, the domains of this canton form nearly the third part of Switzerland, and about the fourth of the actual population; it contains about 370,000 souls, exclusive of 11,000 in the capital. At the introduction of the reformation in 1528, government acquired a large increase of revenue by secularizing the ecclesiastical

fiastical possessions. At the same period, the whole canton followed the example of the capital; and the reformed religion was permanently established.

THE canton is divided into two great divisions; the Pays de Vaud, and the German district. The Pays de Vaud having been conquered from the house of Savoy, and the German district from the states of the empire; justice is administered, and the taxes regulated in those two provinces by laws and customs peculiar to each. Each of these divisions has its treasurer and chamber of appeal resident in the capital: the chamber of appeal belonging to the Pays de Vaud, judges in the last resort; but the inhabitants of the German district may again appeal from theirs to the Sovereign Council.

AT Berne the society is extremely agreeable, and foreigners are received with great ease and politeness. The men do not meet in separate societies; and the women are the life and ornament of their daily assemblies. These assemblies begin about four or five in the afternoon, and continue till about eight, when the parties retire to their respective houses. Dancing is a very frequent amusement at Berne. There is a public ball every fortnight; and in winter scarcely an evening passes without one. These diversions commence at so early an hour as five in the afternoon, on account of a standing order from government, which prohibits their continuance after eleven. English country dances are commonly introduced, but the *walse* (which is a species of allemande) the favourite dance of the natives, is most common. The parties arrange themselves in

distinct couples, and follow each other in a circular direction, the gentleman turning his partner with great velocity. The life and spirit of their dances strike a foreigner with astonishment, and can scarcely be conceived by those who have never seen them. The gaiety of these parties is still more enlivened during the summer months, when the natives resort to a garden near the town, and dance under an open pavillion amid scenes of rural festivity. The foreigner who prefers the constant intercourse of company to a more tranquil society, will chuse the residence of Berne rather than that of any other town in Switzerland.

THERE is but little trade in the capital: some few manufactures indeed (chiefly of linen and silk) have been established; but are carried on by those only, who have no prospect of being admitted into the Sovereign Council. For, those families who enjoy any influence in public affairs would hold themselves degraded, by engaging in any branch of commerce; and as offices of the state, except bailliages, are in general not very profitable, nor indeed numerous, many enter, as their sole resource, into foreign armies. One general advantage, however, is derived from this anti-commercial spirit: the members of government not being interested in laying restrictions on trade, do not, as at Zurich and Basle, confine the exclusive right of establishing manufactures to the burghers of the capital; but wisely extend that permission to all their subjects, without distinction of rank or place. From this circumstance, in conjunction with the mildness and wisdom of government, arises that comfortable state, and even wealth, which so peculiarly distinguishes the peasantry

peasantry in the whole canton of Berne; and to the natural result of these wise regulations may be reasonably imputed the attachment to government particularly observable in the German district. It is worthy of remark, that the peasants, who have acquired opulence either by manufactures or agriculture, seldom quit their situation; they continue in the same habits which they contracted in the earlier period of life, and, however wealthy, never give their daughters in marriage but to persons of their own description.

THE public buildings are constructed in a noble simplicity of style, and announce the riches and grandeur of the republic. The arsenal contains arms for sixty thousand men, and a considerable quantity of cannon, which are cast in the town. The granary, an excellent institution, similar to that of Zurich, always contains a large provision of corn, supplied in consequence of particular treaties by France and Holland.

THE charitable institutions of Berne are numerous, liberal, and well directed. The hospitals are in general large, clean, and airy; and in the alms-house, for the reception of fifty poor citizens, is a curious establishment similar to one which I noticed at Basle. Distressed travellers are treated with a meal and a lodging, if at night, and receive six-pence on their departure. If sick or wounded, they are maintained till their recovery is established.

THE house of correction, which, when the benevolent Mr. Howard visited Berne, was in so deplorable a state, is now extremely well regulated, and reflects great honour on
Mr.

Mr. Manuel, member of the Great Council, to whose care and attention this salutary change is chiefly owing. Formerly all delinquents, without distinction of crime, were confined in the same place; but they are now separated; and two houses are established; one called the House of Correction for greater crimes, and the other the House of Labour for smaller misdemeanors. The prisoners are also discriminated by the appellations of *brown* and *blue* from the colour of their clothes, with which they are supplied gratis during the term of their confinement. The brown colour is appropriated to the house of correction, the blue to the house of labour. The men and women are lodged in separate apartments. Both are constantly employed, sometimes in cleaning the streets, and other servile occupations; at other times they are taught to read and write, and are instructed in various trades, which may assist them in gaining a maintenance at the expiration of the time for which they were sentenced to hard labour. By these means the expence of the establishment is nearly supported; and an honest livelihood assured afterwards to those who would otherwise prove useless or pernicious members of society. There are four tables, at which the respective seats are a mark of distinction appropriated to good behaviour, and a larger or lesser share of provision is distributed to each in proportion to their industry. After having earned their food, the prisoners in the house of labour receive ten per cent. those in the house of correction eight per cent. for their extra work.

PUBLIC justice is wisely and impartially administered; and the torture, which had for some time fallen into disuse, is now formally abolished by a public act of government.

This

This humane and just act forms a distinguished æra in the history of Swiss jurisprudence; as the example of so powerful and wise a government cannot fail producing a general influence; and it is to be hoped, will be the prelude to its abolition throughout Switzerland. The solemnity used in passing capital sentence on a criminal, deserves to be mentioned and imitated. The trial being finished, the prisoner is informed of his condemnation by the *Grand Sautier*, or lieutenant of the police, and attended by two clergymen, who prepare him for death. On the day appointed for execution, a large scaffolding, covered with a black canopy, is constructed in the middle of the principal street. The advoyer, with a sceptre in his hand, is seated on an elevated kind of throne between two senators, and attended by the chancellor and the lieutenant of the police, holding an iron stick, called the *rod of blood*, all habited in their official robes. The criminal being brought to the foot of the scaffolding without chains, the chancellor reads aloud the sentence of condemnation, at the conclusion of which the advoyer bids the executioner approach, who instantly binds the arms of the culprit, and leads him to the place of execution.

THE public library is a small but well-chosen collection, and contains 20,000 volumes, a cabinet of Swiss coins and medals, and many curious manuscripts: of these, Mr. Sinner, a man of great erudition, has published a judicious catalogue. He has not only set forth their titles, and ascertained their age, but has also given a general and succinct account of their respective subjects; and from many has published extracts equally curious and interesting. Among these

MSS.

MSS. are some of the thirteenth century, consisting of several songs and romances of the Troubadours, written in that and the preceding ages, which merit the attention of those who are conversant in that species of antient poetry.

LEARNING is neither so universally encouraged, nor so successfully cultivated here as at Zurich; the academical studies are almost solely directed to those branches of knowledge more essentially necessary for entering into the church. The society for the promotion of agriculture, is almost the only establishment that directly tends to the progress of the arts and sciences; but meets with no great countenance from government.

P O S T S C R I P T.

October 1786.

I FEEL a very sensible satisfaction on adding, that this enlightened government no longer merits the reproach of not sufficiently encouraging the arts and sciences. It is now awakened from its former lethargy, and begins to perceive that it is the interest of every wise government to esteem and protect the sciences. The magistrates have lately purchased and appropriated a large mansion for the public library; increased the collection of books; and procured from England an extensive apparatus of experimental philosophy.

AMONG other undertakings which meet with their encouragement, a new map of the canton is now preparing
under

under their auspices, by the professor of experimental philosophy, a great *desideratum* in the geography of Switzerland, as the alps of the canton are unfaithfully delineated in all the maps which have fallen under my observation. I am also happy to add, that the Reverend Mr. Wytttenbach has lately instituted a literary society for the promotion of physics and natural history in general, and that of Switzerland in particular. In January 1788, this society consisted of ten members resident at Berne, of whom several possess, and others are forming, collections agreeable to the plan of the institution. The members have established regular correspondence in various parts of Europe, and are ready to answer the inquiries of foreign naturalists, who wish to be informed concerning any points which relate to the natural history of this country. An institution founded on such liberal and extensive principles, and having one object principally in view, cannot fail to render the most essential service to science.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R 56.

GOVERNMENT OF BERNE.

WERE I to attempt entering into an exact disquisition concerning the government of Berne; my letter would not only exceed its proper limits, but would hardly be contained within the extent of an ordinary pamphlet. I am persuaded, therefore, you will readily excuse me from putting your patience to so tedious a trial: but you would probably think me very inconsistent indeed, if, after having already descended into less interesting details, I should pass over in silence a government, the wisdom of whose administration is so justly admired. Let me endeavour then to sketch the general outlines of this constitution.

THE sovereign power resides in the Great Council of two hundred; which when complete consists of two hundred and ninety-nine members, chosen from the citizens; from whom they are considered as deriving their power, and as acting by deputation. The authority with which they are invested, is in some respects the most absolute and untroubled of any among the aristocratical states of Switzerland. The government of Lucerne is called, indeed, the most aristocratical of all the cantons; and it may be so, perhaps, with respect to the small number of families to which the administration of affairs is entrusted: but no war can be declared, no peace concluded, no alliance made, no taxes imposed,

posed, without the consent of the burghers in a general assembly. At Friburgh and Soleure the burghers are likewise convened upon particular occasions. Whereas the Great Council of Berne, since 1682, when it was declared the sovereign, is restrained by no constitutional check of this kind; as a general assembly of the citizens is never convened on any occasion.

THE executive powers of government are delegated by this Sovereign Council to the Senate, chosen by themselves from their own body : the former assembles ordinarily three times a week, and extraordinarily upon particular occasions; the Senate every day, Sundays excepted.

THE senate, comprising the two advoyers, or chiefs of the republic, is composed of twenty-seven members; and from this select body are drawn the principal magistrates of the commonwealth. On a vacancy in the Senate, the mode of election is as follows:—Twenty-six balls, three of which are golden, are put into a box, and drawn by the several members : those who draw the three golden balls, nominate three electors out of their body. In the same manner of balloting, seven members are chosen from the Great Council, who also nominate seven electors out of their own body. These ten electors fix upon a certain number of candidates, not exceeding ten, nor less than six; and those among these candidates, who have the fewest votes in the Sovereign Council, retire till their number is reduced to four: then four balls, two golden and two silver, are drawn by the four remaining candidates; the two who draw the former are put in nomination, and he who has the greatest number

of suffrages in the Sovereign Council, is chosen. But in order to be eligible, the candidate must have been a member of the Great Council ten years, and must be married, or a widower.

THE Great Council is generally filled up every ten years; as within that period there is usually a deficiency of eighty members to complete the whole number of two hundred and ninety-nine: a new election can only be proposed on a vacancy of eighty; and cannot be deferred when there is a deficiency of a hundred. The time of election being determined by vote, each advoyer nominates two of the new members; each *seizenier*, and each member of the senate, one each: two or three other officers of state enjoy the same privilege. A few persons also claim, by virtue of their offices, a right of being elected: and their claim is generally admitted. These several nominations and pretensions, commonly amount, in the whole, to about fifty of the new members: the remaining vacancies are supplied by the suffrages of the senate, and the *seizeniers*.

THE *Seizeniers* are sixteen members of the Great Council, drawn yearly from the abbayes or tribes; two from each of the four great tribes, and one from each of the remaining eight. The candidates are generally * taken from those who

* I say *generally*, because it is not absolutely fixed that all the *seizeniers* must have been bailifs: for if it happens, that in one tribe there are two persons, one of whom has been a bailif, and the other is a member of the Great Council; they draw lots for the charge.

And should a member of the Great Council be the only one of his tribe, he becomes *seizenier* of course, provided he is eligible. In order to be *seizenier*, the candidate must be married, or a widower, and have neither his father or brother in the senate.

have

have exercised the office of bailifs; and are elected by lot. Every year during three days at Easter, all other employments in the state are suspended, except those of the bannerets and the feizeniers, who, during this suspension, are invested with a power similar to that of the Roman censors. In case of mal-administration, they may remove any member from the Great Council, or from the Senate: but it is a power which they never exercise; and should they think proper to exert it, the sentence must be confirmed by that council.

THE principal magistrates are, two advoyers, the two treasurers, and the four bannerets: they are each of them chosen by a majority of voices in the Sovereign Council, and are yearly confirmed in their respective offices. The advoyers hold their post for life; the treasurers, six years; and the bannerets, four. At Easter the advoyer in office delivers up his authority, in full council, to his colleague. The *reigning* advoyer sits on an elevated seat, under a canopy, and the seal of the republic lies upon the table before him. He never delivers his opinion except it is demanded; he enjoys no vote unless the numbers are equal; and in that case, he has the casting voice. The advoyer out of office, is the first senator in rank, and president of the secret council.

THE two treasurers, one for the German district, and the other for the Pays de Vaud, form, in conjunction with the four bannerets, an economical chamber, or council of finances: this council examines and passes the accounts of the bailifs, and receives the revenues of all those who are accountable

accountable to government. The four bannerets, together with the advoyer out of office, the senior treasurer, and two members of the Senate, compose a committee or secret council; in which all state affairs, that require secrecy, are discussed.

I HAVE only described these eight magistracies, as being the chief offices of the state, and exercised by members of the Senate. But although the general form of this constitution is entirely aristocratical; and the Senate possesses a very considerable influence; yet it does not enjoy that almost exclusive authority, which is observable in many aristocratical governments. For, by several wise and well-observed regulations, the Sovereign Council, although it delegates the most important concerns of government to the Senate, yet assembles, at stated times, and superintends the administration of public affairs.

It may also be remarked, that although the antient houses retain very considerable influence, and are more readily entrusted with the administration of affairs; yet that the principal charges of government are not exclusively confined to them: many new families being always admitted into the Sovereign Council on every election. It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that, as the citizens are continually diminishing, and their vacancies are never supplied; it would well become so wise a government to receive occasionally new families into the burghership, in order to prevent the ill effects arising from the partial and narrow spirit of too confined an oligarchy. Government is administered throughout

out its several departments with great precision, and every ordinance is executed with as much dispatch as in a monarchical state. The administration of affairs is carried on with great wisdom and moderation, and the rulers are particularly cautious not to encroach upon the privileges of the subject.

THE canton of Berne is divided into a certain number of districts, called bailliages; over which, bailifs are chosen from the Sovereign Council: and, these posts being the most profitable in the disposal of government, are the great objects of general pursuit. Formerly the bailifs, taken indifferently from the Senate or Great Council, were nominated by the bannerets; but as this method rendered the members entirely dependent upon those who had the chief credit and influence in the commonwealth; the mode of election was altered in 1712, and they are now chosen by lot. No competitor, however, can be received as a candidate, in opposition to a more antient member of the Great Council: for instance, he who was admitted in 1766, cannot stand against one who was chosen in 1756. None but married men or widowers are capable of being elected into this office; nor can any person occupy more than once the principal bailliages: those of a less profitable kind may be possessed three times.

THE several bailifs are representatives of the sovereign power in their respective districts. They enforce the edicts of government, collect the public revenues, act as justices of the peace, and are judges in civil and criminal causes, except
where

where there is any local * jurisdiction. In civil causes, beyond a certain value, an appeal lies to the courts of Berne: in criminal affairs, the process is made out in the bailif's court, undergoes a revision in the Senate, and is referred to the criminal chamber, which inflicts punishment for small misdemeanors. In capital cases, the sentence must be confirmed by the Senate, and by the Sovereign Council, if the delinquent is a citizen of Berne. The bailif delivers his accounts to the oeconomical chamber, to which court an appeal lies, in case of exaction, either on the part of the bailif, or of his officers: and with respect to those misdemeanors that are punishable by fine, and of which the bailif is entitled to a share; the proportion of the respective penalties is settled by the legislature with the most scrupulous exactness, and not left to the arbitrary decision of an interested judge.

ALTHOUGH from all these considerations it should seem, that every possible precaution has been taken by government to prevent the extortions of the bailifs; yet instances have not been wanting to prove, that these wise and strict regulations may be eluded: but it is no less certain, that where bailifs have been guilty of oppressions, frequent examples occur of their being impartially and severely punished. The profits of this office arise from the produce of the demesnes, of the tythes, and certain duties paid to government in the respective bailliages. In some parts of the German division, the bailif is entitled, upon the death of every

* The lord of the estate of Diesbach enjoys, within his own lands, the same powers, in criminal affairs, as are possessed by the bailifs in their respective districts.

peasant,

peasant, to a determinate part of the inheritance: although his share is very inconsiderable, yet in some situations it may prove an oppressive tax upon the family. This tax is the only instance that has fallen under my knowledge, where the peasants of this canton are liable to any imposition, which can justly be deemed grievous.

ALTHOUGH there are no standing armies in Switzerland; yet in many of the cantons, and particularly in Berne, the militia is so well regulated, that government could assemble a very considerable body of men at a moment's warning. To this end, every male at the age of sixteen is enrolled in the militia; and about a third of the whole number are formed into particular regiments, composed of fusileers and electionaries; the former consisting of batchelors, and the latter of married men. Every person thus enrolled, is obliged to provide himself, at his own expence, with an uniform, a musket, and a certain quantity of powder and ball: and no peasant is allowed to marry, unless he produces his uniform and arms. Every year a certain number of officers, who are called Land Majors, are deputed by the council of war, throughout the canton, to inspect the arms of the soldiers; to complete the regiments, and exercise the militia: upon their return they make their report to that council. Beside this annual review, the regiments are occasionally exercised by veteran soldiers, appointed for that purpose.

BESIDE the arms in the arsenal of Berne, a certain quantity is also provided, in the arsenal of each bailliage, sufficient for the militia of that district; and likewise a sum of

money amounting to three months pay, which is appropriated to the electionaries in case of actual service. The dragoons are chosen from the substantial farmers; as each person is obliged to provide his horse and accoutrements. In time of peace, the advoyer out of office, is president of the council of war, and a member of that council is commander of the militia in the Pays de Vaud; but during war a general in chief is nominated, who commands the forces of the republic. A certain number of regiments being thus always in readiness, signals are fixed on the highest part of each bailiage, for assembling the militia at a particular place in each district; where they receive orders for marching.

BEFORE I close this letter, I shall just mention an institution, called the *Exterior State*, as remarkable for its singularity as its utility. It is a model of the Sovereign Council, and is composed of those burghers, who have not attained the age requisite for entering into that Council. It has a Great Council, a Senate, two advoyers, treasurers, bannerets, and seizeniers; all of whom are chosen in the usual manner, and with the accustomed ceremonies. The post of advoyer in this mimic community is solicited with great assiduity, and sometimes obtained at a considerable expence; as the successful candidate is always admitted into the Great Council, without any farther recommendation. This body possesses a certain number of bailliages, which consist of several ruined castles dispersed over the canton: it has also its common treasure, and its debts. In this article, however, it by no means resembles the actual government of Berne, which is not only free from debts, but possessed of a very considerable

able fund in reserve. This remarkable institution, may be considered as a political seminary for the youth of Berne. It renders them acquainted with the forms of the constitution; and, as the members debate upon all kinds of political subjects, affords them an opportunity of exercising and improving their talents, and by that means of becoming more capable of serving the public, whenever they may be admitted to a share in the administration of government.

I am, &c.

LETTER 57.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY ANECDOTES
OF HALLER.

BERNE has produced few men highly eminent in literature; but has established her glory in being the birth-place of the celebrated Haller.

ALBERT HALLER*, the youngest of five brothers, was born on the 16th of October 1708. His father, Emanuel

* The materials for this biographical sketch, are chiefly collected from the following lives of this great man, which, as I was informed, by his eldest son, since deceased, are those to which most credit may be given. 1. *Leben des Herrn von Haller*, by George Zimmerman. Zurich, 1755. The author was the disciple and friend of Haller. 2. *Lobrede auf Herrn Albrecht von Haller, von Herrn von Baltsasar*. Basel, 1778. The author was Haller's intimate friend, and was well acquainted with the principal events of his life. He is the same gentleman whom I have mentioned in vol. i. Letter 23. 3. *Lobrede auf Herrn Albert Haller*. Durch V. B. *Tscharner des Grossen Raths, &c.* Berne, 1778. Mr. Tscharner, being a native of Berne, and an intimate acquaintance of Haller, his account deserves implicit credit. He was author of several esteemed works on the topography and history of Switzerland. He died in 1778, a short time after he had pronounced this panegyric on his deceased friend. 4. *Eloge Historique*

d' Albert de Haller, avec un Catalogue de ses Oeuvres. Geneve, 1778. Sennebier, the writer of this eulogium, is well known as the learned author of *Bibliothèque de Geneve*, and of *Histoire Littéraire de Geneve*. He informs us, that he received several anecdotes from the family of Haller.

Many other panegyrics and lives of Haller have been published in various parts of Europe; but as they were mostly written by those who were not personally acquainted with him, I have not cited them as authorities. His son mentions nineteen lives and panegyrics of his father, that had fallen under his notice in 1784. See Bibl. Schweit. Gesch. vol. ii. N° 882—906. I have been enabled to add several anecdotes which I procured at Berne, and from his eldest son the late bailif of Nyon.

The completest list of Haller's works is to be found in the 6th volume of "*Epistolæ ad Hallerum scriptæ*." Berne, 1775. His subsequent publications may be supplied from Sennebier's catalogue.

Haller,

Haller, a citizen of Berne, practised the law as an advocate with great success; and in 1713, removed from the capital to Baden, where he was appointed secretary of that bailliage.

ALTHOUGH many accounts are usually related concerning the early genius of distinguished persons, which do not always deserve implicit credit; yet the premature abilities and application of Haller are incontestably proved. When he had scarcely attained his fifth year he was accustomed to write the new words, which he recollected to have heard in the course of the day. His progress in the languages was so rapid, that in his tenth year he could translate from the Greek, and composed for his own private use a Chaldaic grammar, a Greek and Hebrew lexicon. His passion for letters was also so general and ardent, that, about the same period, he abridged from Bayle and Moreri an historical dictionary, comprising above two thousand lives, and distinguished himself by a satire in Latin verse against his preceptor Abraham Baillodsz, a person of considerable learning, but of a capricious and morose disposition.

SUCH unwearied application, and astonishing progress, in a youth of his years, ought to have ensured the approbation and encouragement of his family. On the contrary, his father, who had destined him to the law, reproved his growing taste for polite literature, was particularly offended at his inclination for poetry, as likely to draw him from the severer occupations, and objected to the variety of his pursuits as too desultory and superficial. He did not consider, that, during childhood, the principal requisite of education

education is to infuse a taste for application in general; and, that when the base of education is rendered as broad as possible, like a pyramid, it may always be reduced to a point. But neither his father's repeated exhortations, nor his preceptor's severe admonitions, could oblige the youth to confine his studies to one object, or check his insatiable thirst for general information. In this manner he was educated until 1721, when, on his father's death, he was removed to the public school at Berne. He was placed in a class far above his age; and usually wrote in Greek the exercise, which he was expected to compose in the Latin tongue. In 1723, he obtained permission to accompany a young friend to Bienne, in order to be instructed in philosophy by the father of his companion, who was a celebrated physician. But his new preceptor being a bigot to the Cartesian school, Haller soon rejected with disdain that logic and philosophy, which tended to cramp his genius rather than extend his knowledge; and continued to cultivate history, poetry, and polite literature, but with as little order and method as might be expected from his years.

HALLER, during his residence at Bienne, began a custom, which he afterwards followed through life, that of writing his opinion of the books which he perused, and making large extracts from them. His genius being also awakened by the romantic scenery of the country to poetical enthusiasm, he composed various pieces in the epic, dramatic, and lyric styles. He was at this time so entirely absorbed in this favourite study, that, on a fire breaking out in the house in which he resided, he rushed into his apartment, and rescued his poetry from the flames, leaving his other papers,

papers, with little regret, to destruction. Afterwards, when a more mature age had ripened his judgment, he was frequently heard to say, that he had preserved from the flames those compositions which he then thought the finest productions of human genius, in order at a future period to consign them to destruction as unworthy of his pen *. In this period of life, Haller compares himself to a wild plant, which is left to grow without pruning; and this very circumstance was probably the principal cause of his future proficiency, and the foundation of that universal knowledge, to which he afterwards attained.

HE had been originally intended for the law: but his active mind could not submit to follow a profession which would limit his inquiries; which entirely depended on precedent and authority; and which, to use his own quotation from Horace, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, obliged him,

Furare in verba magistri.

And although he could not submit to the shackles of that narrow philosophy, so strongly recommended and enforced

* Many of his biographers have confounded these two facts; and, from a natural proneness to exaggeration, have asserted, that at Bienne, Haller, with a greatness of mind above his years, burned his poetical compositions, from a strong conviction, that poetry tended to alienate his mind from the severer studies: whereas, the very contrary happened. He saved his poetical pieces in preference to his other papers, and burned them afterwards, because they would have disgraced his reputation: although, as juvenile productions, they were not wholly without merit. I have in this instance preferred the authority of his particular friends, Balthasar and Tscharner, to his other biographers, who had not such opportunities of obtaining the truth. Besides, as a confirmation of their evidence, Haller did not intermit his poetical studies; and wrote at Tübingen his *Morgen-gedanken* and *Sehn-Sucht*, which are the earliest specimens he ever gave to the public.

by

by his new preceptor, yet he appears to have been principally determined by his advice to dedicate himself to physic; the study of which comprehends such a variety of literary pursuits, as seemed congenial to the zeal and activity of his capacious mind. He had no sooner formed this resolution, than he adopted a more regular and uniform plan, than he had hitherto been able to pursue. For this purpose he removed, towards the end of 1723, to the university of Tubingen, where, under the professors Elias Camerarius and Du Vernoy, he prosecuted his studies with that unwearied application, which never forsook him. From Camerarius he learned those sound principles of rational philosophy, which teach us first to doubt, and afterwards to believe; and which are as far removed from credulity on one hand, as from scepticism on the other. From the lectures of Du Vernoy he imbibed his first taste for botany, and made so rapid a progress in the study of anatomy, that his master predicted, from several dissertations, his future proficiency in that science. Notwithstanding his strong and invariable attachment to these two branches of natural history, he represents himself as studying, *invitâ minervâ*, against nature; anatomy though he could not support bad smells, and botany though he was extremely short-sighted. At Tubingen he also distinguished his knowledge in mineralogy by refuting the error of Tournefort, in ascribing to fossils a vegetating power.

DURING his continuance in that university, he gave an instance of his early controul over his passions; a difficult conquest for a young man of strong feelings and lively imagination. A single deviation into excess, into which he had
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been hurried by the example of some of his fellow-pupils, so greatly affected a person like him, no less enamoured of virtue, than susceptible of ingenuous shame, that he instantly formed a resolution to abstain from wine; and adopted a strictness of morals, which renders highly probable the assertion of his French encomiast, the Marquis de Condorcet, that he was descended from a family, in which piety might be said to be hereditary.

IN 1725, Haller repaired to Leyden, to which place he was drawn by the great reputation of Boerhaave. Here he found a more ample field for the improvement of his mind, and the display of his abilities. He became the favourite scholar of Boerhaave, by whose example and encouragement he strengthened his growing inclination for botany. He noted down his master's lectures on the *Institutes of Medicine* with such precision, as afterwards gave birth to one of his most useful publications. He continued his anatomical studies under Albinus, just then rising into fame, and the venerable Ruysch, who so highly improved the art of injecting anatomical preparations. The precarious state of his health, probably occasioned, or at least increased, by his intense application, induced him to accompany two of his countrymen through part of Germany. On his return, in 1726, he received his doctor's degree, though only in the nineteenth year of his age; and published on that occasion his inaugural dissertation *de Ductu salivari Coschwiziano*.

IN 1727 he visited England, was favourably received by Cheselden, Douglas, and Sir Hans Sloane; and improved

his knowledge of medicine and surgery under the auspices of those celebrated men, and by diligently attending the hospitals. At Paris, whither he next directed his course, he studied botany under Geoffroy and Jussieu; anatomy under Le Dran and Winslow, a celebrated surgeon. Winslow was indeed his favourite master, to whom he particularly attached himself; whom he proposed to his disciples as the best model for their imitation, as an anatomist, who, shackled by no system, described simply and faithfully what he himself observed in his dissections.

HALLER had proposed to continue his travels to Italy, that country where medicinal knowledge first revived in the darker ages, and where,

“ Smit with the love of sacred song,”

he might indulge his enthusiasm and improve his taste in classical literature. The uncertain state of his health, the *maladie du pays* which so remarkably affects the Swiss in foreign parts, and on which he has composed a poem, together with the advice of his friends, prevailed over his inclination, and induced him to return to his native city.

IN his way to Berne he stopped at Basle, in order to study mathematics and algebra under the celebrated John Bernoulli; and in this, as well as every other instance of his life, applied with such indefatigable perseverance, as if those sciences were to form the sole object of his future researches. His proficiency in these studies is sufficiently proved by
several

several treatises still extant in manuscript, which he composed on arithmetic and geometry, and particularly by his remarks on the Marquis de l'Hospital's Analysis of Infinitesimals; and his attachment to them by his being deeply employed in a profound calculation on the day of his marriage. But though he made such a progress as astonished Bernoulli himself, he continued his other pursuits, being appointed to read lectures on anatomy during the sickness of the professor: while he fulfilled the duties of that office, he also attended the lectures of Tzinger on the practical parts of medicine; thus at the same time displaying, with equal propriety, the dignity of a professor, and the humility of a pupil. During the summer of 1729, he, in company with his friend John Gesner, made an excursion into the mountains of Switzerland; an excursion rendered memorable by its suggesting to him the plan of a *Flora Helvetica*, and by inspiring his poem on the Alps, which he composed in the 21st year of his age; a poem as sublime and immortal as the mountains which are the subject of his song.

NOT to interrupt these biographical anecdotes with a chronological detail of his poetical productions, I shall just mention, that, not long after his poem on the Alps, he wrote his ethic epistles, on the Imperfection of Human Virtue, on Superstition and Infidelity, on the Origin of Evil, on the Vanity of Honour, Various Satires, Doris, a Pastoral on his first wife, and his much admired Elegy on her death. It is a convincing proof of Haller's versatile genius and extraordinary mental powers, that he should have so eminently excelled in poetry, which, except in his early youth, he

never considered otherwise than as an amusement, either to soothe him under afflictions, and in the bed of sickness, or to console him for the envy and neglect of his contemporaries.

THE soundest German critics place Haller among the most eminent of their poets; and consider sublimity as the grand characteristic of his writings. They acknowledge, that he improved the harmony and richness of his native tongue; that he possessed the highest powers of invention and fancy; great originality both in his ideas and language; that he is the true colourist of nature; that he founded the depths of metaphysical and moral science; that he equally excels in picturesque descriptions, in soft and delightful imagery, in elevated sentiments, and philosophical precision. A few supercilious critics have reproached his poetry with occasional obscurities; and accuse him of having introduced a new language affectingly averse to the common modes of diction. Cold criticism may censure; but twenty-two successive editions of his German poems, and the translation of them into the principal languages of Europe, prove, that they possess the great aim of poetry, that of pleasing and interesting the reader. And it may be remarked with truth, that although Haller's stupendous labours in erudition and science render his poetical talents of inferior account; yet that if he had confined himself to poetry, that alone would have immortalized his name.

BUT it is time to accompany Haller to his native city, where he returned, in 1729, expecting from his countrymen
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that respect and patronage, he had so liberally received abroad. But he had the mortification to experience that neglect, and even envy, to which every man of genius is exposed in his own country, and which he seems to have augmented by his satirical compositions. He continued three years without having the interest to procure any public employment; and, though he prevailed on Government to establish an anatomical theatre, and gave lectures gratis; he did not succeed in obtaining the place of physician to the hospital, which he much desired. He also solicited a professorship, and was again repulsed. He seems to have sensibly felt these disappointments, and expressed his impatience and indignation in his satirical poems. Instead, however, of damping his activity or abating the ardour of his genius, he redoubled his application and services in order to force himself into public notice.

THE first distinguishing tribute to his literary talents was paid by the Royal Society of Upsala, which, in 1735, chose him a member. This election was the prelude to more honourable and beneficial employments. In the same year his countrymen acknowledged his merit, by appointing him director of the hospital, and public librarian. As director of the hospital, he distinguished himself by his zeal and humanity. As librarian, he bestowed great pains in arranging the books, and in forming the first catalogue. Scarcely any branch of literature, however remote from his usual occupations, was omitted by Haller, whenever an opportunity presented itself, either of improving his general knowledge, or of being useful to science. Finding in the public library
a collection

a collection of antient medals, which had been hitherto neglected; he took considerable pleasure in classing them. His love of history led him to pay great attention to the study of medals, which he justly considered as the most authentic documents of historical truth, and the most certain monuments to ascertain the ever-fluctuating state of language.

HIS literary reputation began now to spread itself by various botanical, anatomical, and medical publications, and by a collection of poems*, which first made its appearance in 1732. At length, in 1736, he received, unsolicited on his part, the offer of the professorship of physic, botany, and surgery, in the university of Gottingen, newly established by George the Second. Notwithstanding all the advantages and honours which accompanied this offer, he, for some time, hesitated whether he should accept it. He had, in 1731, espoused a young lady of good family, whose great beauty and accomplishments were rendered still more endearing by her affectionate subserviency to his manner of life. She had brought him three children; and these ties attached him more strongly to his native place, where his merits had procured him many sincere friends; and the air of which he considered as in some respect necessary for the continuance of his health. On the other hand, the honour of being invited by so great a monarch, the dignity of the establishment to which he was called, and the consideration of having a more ample theatre for the improvement of his knowledge, induced him to remove to Gottingen.

* *Versuch Schweizerischer Gedichte.* The best edition is printed at Berne, 1775.

HE quitted Berne with much regret; prefaging, as it were, the heavy stroke which overtook him soon after his arrival in that university. He lost his wife. The death of his beloved Marianne, whose memory he has celebrated in a pathetic elegy, afflicted him so deeply, that it almost brought him to the grave. In this crisis of despondency he redoubled his application, as the most probable means of subduing his sorrow; and the duties of his station forced him from the contemplation of his own grief into public life. During seventeen years, in which he resided at Gottingen, his abilities expanded in proportion as his opportunities of acquiring knowledge increased; he obtained from government the establishment of a botanical garden, which he superintended, of an anatomical theatre, a school for midwifery, and a college for the improvement of surgery. He formed the plan for a Royal Society of Sciences, of which he was appointed perpetual president.

THE comprehensive mind and versatile genius of Haller, united with unremitting diligence and ardour in all his pursuits, enabled him to cultivate with uncommon success, a variety of knowledge. Had not the great Swede pre-occupied the field, Haller would have stood the first among his contemporaries as an improver of botanical knowledge*. Yet botany was not among his earliest pursuits, for he informs us, that he had made no advances in it until his return from his travels: during his residence at Basle, in the year 1728,

* I should not have presumed to have given any detailed account of Haller's botanical, medical, or anatomical works, if I had not received assistance on these subjects from my very judicious friend Dr. Pulteney.

as if inspired, he says, by the genius of that place, which had nurtured the Bauhins, and where at that period botany was successfully cultivated by Staehlin, he laid the design of his future Flora. From this time he made annual journies into various parts of Switzerland, and principally among the Alps. He cultivated the correspondence of the most eminent botanists; particularly with Scheutzer, Ludwig, Linnæus, Van Royen, and Dr. John Gefner of Zurich, who had also meditated a design to publish a Swiss Flora, and freely communicated his materials to Haller.

His establishment at Gottingen afterwards enlarged his views and opportunities; and at length, in 1742, his great botanical work on the plants of Switzerland, the result of fourteen years study, made its appearance. It was entitled, *Enumeratio Methodica Stirpium Helvetiæ*, in 2 vols. folio. It was the most copious Flora the world had ever seen, comprising 1,840 species, and was enriched with several advantages, that rendered it singularly acceptable. The preface contains a compendious geographical description of Switzerland, and of the Alps particularly; an account of all the authors who had written on the plants of that country; the recital of his own journies; acknowledgments to those who had assisted him; concluding with the order and method he means to pursue in this work. After the preface follows a chronological account of 268 volumes, which he cites in the work, each accompanied by a general character; in which, with great candour and impartiality, he points out the merit or demerit of the author, in the manner which he afterwards pursued in the *Methodus Studii Medici*, and in the *Bibliotheca Medicinæ*.

Medicinæ. This is in reality a very useful and entertaining part of his work, inasmuch as it forms almost a history of the progress of the science, from the time of Brunfelsius to his own.

HE next delineates his own system of botany, according to which the plants are disposed. Throughout this great work, Haller is entirely an original: not satisfying himself with giving the descriptions of former writers, he appears every where to have described the plant himself, and to have formed new genera, and commonly new specific characters for the whole, accommodated to his own system. He informs us, that it was his custom to write down the natural characters of each plant on the day he found it. In treating on each species, he has not only added a most copious number of synonymes, but, unsatisfied with Bauhin's Pinax, he appears to have consulted all the old authors, extricated their synonymes, with uncommon diligence and singular discrimination, and arranged them, as much as possible, in chronological order; a method highly worthy of imitation, as it exhibits at one view, a brief history of the plant, by pointing out the first discoverer, and the regions of its growth. This to the curious botanist, is a very meritorious part of Haller's labour. To each is subjoined a summary account, from the best writers, of the qualities and uses, both œconomical and medical. The work is embellished with plates of some rare species, remarkable for their exactness and delicacy.

HAVING, in 1741, obtained from the king of Great Britain the establishment of the physic garden at Gottingen,

Haller published the following year a catalogue of its plants. This was but a small volume, but the list served to shew the diligence with which he had fulfilled the intention of the royal founder. In 1753 he much enlarged it, and comprehended the plants spontaneously growing in the environs, especially those of the Black Forest. He informs us, that this volume was the production of a three months vacation, and laments, that the importance of his other employments prevented him from fulfilling his intention of describing the plants of Germany at large. This little work is curious, since it exemplifies his system as extended to exotics, of which the new and rare kinds are herein described. But the small size of the volume precluded the introduction of the generical characters.

IN 1745, he gratified the botanists by a new edition of the *Flora Jenensis* of Ruppius; and, that he might do justice to his author, he took a journey to Jena, where he gained access to the papers and *hortus ficcus* of the author. He prefixed to this book anecdotes of this extraordinary man; and, by reforming the whole, and augmenting it with many plants, discovered by himself, he in some measure made it a *Flora Germanica*. These performances were by no means the termination of his botanical labours. On his return to Switzerland he continued his discoveries in this branch of natural history; he also sent, at his own expence, persons properly qualified into the less frequented parts of Switzerland. The result appeared in a new edition of the *Enumeratio*, which was so much improved and altered, that he considers it as a new work. It was published in three vol. fol. in 1768, under

under the title of *Historia Stirpium indigenarum Helvetiae, inchoata*. The subject is arranged in his own method, with the alteration of inverting the order of the classes, beginning with the *Compositæ*, or the *Syngenesia* class of Linnæus, and ending with the *Cryptogamia*, which stood first in the *Enumeratio*; both of which are objectionable, as subjecting the student to the most difficult parts of the system at his entrance on the study. Several interesting particulars of the former publication are also omitted in these volumes, of which curious botanists will much regret the loss: for though he has inserted, with enlargement, the physical geography of Switzerland, together with the account of those authors who had previously investigated the plants of the country, and has recited his own excursions for that purpose; yet he has not introduced the critical catalogue of the authors, satisfying himself with giving a bare list of all the botanical writings, from the time of Theophrastus to the year 1768. It is still more to be regretted, that Haller has suppressed, in this edition, a great number of synonymes under each plant; inserting only a few of those of later date. It may further be remarked, that although in all possible instances he has introduced the synonymes of Linnæus, yet he has, unfortunately for such as use the works of both, omitted the trivial names; a circumstance which renders his book much less useful to those who are conversant in the sexual system. Yet, if these are defects, they are doubtless more than compensated, by the innumerable improvements made in the descriptions, both of the genera and species, by the great addition to the number of plants, which are extended from 1840 to 2486, of which more than 800 are of the

Cryptogamia class; Haller having, after Micheli, beyond any of his contemporaries, enlarged the order of Fungi, of which he tells us, he had the paintings of more than 400 species drawn under his own inspection. It is not, however, surprising, that Switzerland should produce a greater variety of vegetables than the middle parts of Europe; when we reflect that the alpine situations afford growth to the plants of the arctic regions, and the warm vallies of the same country, to many of those common to southern. The value of this edition is much enhanced by enlarging the observations on the uses of plants; and by referring to his authorities for what is not his own, with his accustomed accuracy. As an accession to this work, it may be added, that the author has, in the notes, under each genus, introduced the plants of Theophrastus and Dioscorides, in as many instances as they admit of being ascertained.

FEW botanists have laboured more than Haller; and yet his discoveries in botany occupied only a comparatively small portion of his time. To such as feel not, in the fullest extent, that enthusiasm which the love of science creates, it may appear a paradox to assert, that the dissection of human bodies could be a pleasurable employment; yet Haller, in 1742, pronounced an elegant and spirited eulogium, in the university of Gottingen, to prove it; and his zeal in the pursuit of anatomical discoveries was attended with uncommon success. He seems early to have apprehended, that the knowledge of the distribution of the arterial system, had not kept pace with that of the bones, muscles, nerves, and viscera, which had been separately and ably treated by men of eminence.

eminence. Haller, therefore, wished to illustrate more perfectly this part of the human body; and he gave to the world a more complete system on the subject than had yet appeared. He published the first part of this great work in 1743, and the last in 1756. His tracts on other parts of anatomy, when collected in 1768, form three vols. in 4to. The curious reader may see an enumeration of his many discoveries in anatomy and physiology, at the head of the sixth volume of his Physiology: and although some of these discoveries may have been contested by his contemporaries; yet his unalienable right to most of them, and the light particularly which he threw upon incubation, ossification, irritability, and several other parts of the animal œconomy, will unquestionably secure to him a large and honourable share of fame with posterity.

HALLER's emoluments augmented as his merits were displayed; and honours flowed upon him from all quarters. He was elected, in 1748, into the Royal Society of Stockholm, into that of London in 1749, and in 1754 chosen one of the eight foreign members in the Academy of Sciences at Paris. In 1739 he was appointed physician to George the Second, and king's counsellor in 1740. In 1749 the emperor Francis conferred on him letters of nobility at the request of George the Second; and about the same time the king, in a visit which he had paid to the university, distinguished Haller with particular marks of approbation; an honour which the author gratefully acknowledges, in an English publication, intitled, "A short Narrative of the King's Journey to Gottingen,"
and

and in the dedication to George the Second, prefixed to his edition of Boerhaave's *Methodus Studii Medici*.

HE declined, in 1745, an invitation to Oxford, which would probably have terminated in his nomination to the professorship of botany, vacant by the death of the celebrated Dillenius; a second from the university of Utrecht; and, in 1750, a third from the king of Prussia, with the offer of a very considerable pension. But of all his promotions, none gave him more real satisfaction, than his election into the Great Council of Berne, as it ensured to him a retreat accompanied with dignity, and probably with emolument, in his native city, to which he looked forward with affection and attachment.

At length, in 1753, induced by the precarious state of his health, by the desire of removing from Gottingen, which he called the *grave* of his wives, and by his earnest anxiety to dedicate the remainder of his days to the service of his country, he took a journey to Berne, in order to procure an establishment, which, though not adequate to his present appointments, might place him in the bosom of his beloved Switzerland. Soon after his arrival, he fortunately obtained by lot the office of Amman: although this office was of small emolument, yet, as it might be considered a prelude to future appointments, and as it gave him an immediate opportunity of serving his children, he resigned his professorship at Gottingen, and settled at Berne. Such was the general joy of his countrymen on this event, that Moriksof struck a medal to commemorate his return.

HAVING

HAVING formed this resolution, he could not be shaken by the most splendid offers. He declined, in 1755, the pressing invitation of Frederic the Second, to superintend the academies of Prussia, and to accept the chancellorship of the university of Hall, vacant by the death of Wolfe. In 1767, he rejected the offer of a very advantageous and honourable settlement at St. Petersburg, made by Catherine the Second; and, in 1770, the still more dignified promotion to the chancellorship of the university of Gottingen, with a very considerable appointment; although George the Third wrote not only to Haller, but to the Senate of Berne, requesting their influence to persuade his acceptance of it. His grateful country rewarded this disinterested attachment with the most liberal and unbounded confidence, and employed his talents in the public service. In 1757, he was sent to reform the academy of Lausanne; and, in the following year, was deputed by the Senate to examine some curious remains of antiquity lately discovered at Culm. About the same time he was appointed director of the salt-works at Bex and Aigle, with an annual salary of £. 500. During the term of this appointment, which continued six years, he resided at La Roche. In this retirement, he employed himself in superintending and improving the salt-works, of which he has given a short account; in making occasional excursions into the neighbouring country, which he has likewise described; but more particularly distinguished his retreat by preparing and publishing his great work on physiology.

NOTWITHSTANDING the amplitude and success of Haller's labours in the various branches of medical knowledge,
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it was principally on physiology, which seems to have been his peculiar delight, that he displayed the whole force of his genius, and founded his merit as an *inventor* in science.

HIS Outlines of Physiology, or *Primæ Lineæ Physiologicæ*, published at Gottingen in 1747, delineate the plan, and were the prelude to his immortal work, which he modestly styles *Elements* only, or *Elementa Physiologiæ corporis humani*, in eight volumes in quarto, which successively made their appearance from 1757 to 1766. In conformity to Boerhaave's plan, this part of the science of physic is here emancipated from theoretical subtlety, from metaphysical, mechanical, and chymical hypotheses, with which, for ages, it had been incumbered; and was, for the first time, built on the true basis of anatomical knowledge. The exquisite knowledge which he had displayed in relation to the structure of the human body, his indefatigable researches into the facts and opinions of all his predecessors, the judicious selection of them to establish his own, his skill in comparative anatomy, the extent of his discoveries, and the application of the whole to illustrate the use of the parts in the human frame, afford such an instance of learning, industry, penetration, and genius, as will undoubtedly transmit the author's name to posterity among the greatest contributors to useful knowledge.

ON his return to Berne he was elected member of the chamber of appeal for the German district, of the council of finances, of the committees for matrimonial affairs, and for improving the small livings in the French district of the canton: he was also appointed perpetual assessor of the Council
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of Health, with an annual salary of about £. 100, as a token of his country's gratitude for having declined so many splendid offers from foreign courts, and for preferring his native place to the advancement of his fortune.

IN these several offices he performed essential services to the state, by promoting the most useful institutions, proposing necessary alterations, and in framing new laws and ordinances. In his capacity of assessor to the Chamber of Health, he was particularly useful in forwarding the most important regulations; such as the prohibition of empirics, the recovery of drowned persons, and the means to prevent the spreading of the infectious distemper then prevalent among the cattle in various parts of Europe. He shewed himself a friend to humanity, by the zeal with which he assisted in obtaining from government a public establishment for orphans, by his activity in providing it with a fund, and by drawing up the plan. As a member of the Economical Society, he laboured much to improve the state of agriculture, and made many experiments conducive to that end. In the meetings of the Great Council he delivered, on important occasions, his opinion with a manly freedom and lively eloquence, the result of the soundest judgment and the most feeling heart.

IN 1766, and the following years, this great man, who had hitherto enlightened science from his closet, displayed in the theatre of public life the more active and distinguished parts of a patriot and politician. He re-established the harmony and settled the disputes between the Vallais and the

canton of Berne by a successful negociation, in which he fixed the new boundaries of the two states; he was associated with the most enlightened characters of the republic in terminating the dissensions of Geneva; he drew up the principal dispatches to the court of Versailles on the subject of the changes which had been projected at Verfoi, on which occasion he held a personal conference with the French ambassador; and was employed to prepare the plan of a treaty, which the canton of Berne contracted with the Elector of Bavaria relating to the purchase of salt.

ON the conclusion of these public employments, Haller, who had now attained the sixty-second year of his age, withdrew himself again from the bustle of life, and lived in a more retired manner, fulfilling the duties of a father, a citizen, and a magistrate; and, although his health gradually declined, yet his activity still remained undiminished. He resumed his literary labours, which had been necessarily interrupted amidst his other more important avocations. He published, in 1768, his history of Swiss plants, mentioned above; and, in 1771, the first part of his *Bibliotheca Medicinæ* or his Medical Library.

No part of Haller's writings affords a more striking example of the value of early and persevering industry, than this publication. That habit which he had formed, so early as from the eighteenth year of his age, of noting his opinion of books and authors, necessarily accumulated a considerable mass of materials; and thus enabled him to turn them to
very

very useful purposes. By these means the foundation of his *Medical Library* was laid, even before he gave the improved edition of Boerhaave's *Methodus Studii Medici*, in 1751.

BOERHAAVE used to recommend to his students the books which they ought to consult on each subject: this catalogue was, in 1726, surreptitiously and inaccurately printed, and formed only a small volume in octavo; many necessary observations were forgotten, and various authors both modern and antient were omitted. Haller undertook to supply these deficiencies; and extended the publication to two volumes in quarto. In order to appreciate the merits of this compilation, it is necessary to observe, that various lexicons and catalogues of medical authors were extant; but the writers had merely given bare lists and titles, unaccompanied by that critical discrimination of the design, doctrine, and general merit of each author, which rendered these volumes so highly acceptable. In this manner Haller has given, under that classical method which Boerhaave had formed, his opinion of more than 4,000 volumes.

IN the prosecution of this plan, as it appears in his own *Bibliotheca*, Haller traces the history of each branch of medicine from its origin; and by following the history of each in the several periods, has, in some measure, made his publication a compendious history of physic. His extensive acquaintance with antient and modern languages, enabled him to comprehend a large field; and his indefatigable industry, united to great penetration in investigating the doctrines of the antients, equally exhibits his erudition

and that sound judgment by which he has appreciated the merit of those sages of physic, in a manner highly interesting and instructive. In his judgment of the moderns he is candid and impartial; his great knowledge of his subjects qualified him to distinguish all original doctrines, new facts, and observations, and to guard against such errors as might mislead young and incautious practitioners; who are but too apt to be influenced in their practice, by imbibed theories, and prejudice towards particular authors.

HE has given additional value to his work, by annexing to the account of celebrated books, short biographical anecdotes of the author. He mentions all the different editions, that came to his knowledge, and particularly marks such as were in his own library. And it is a matter of astonishment, that in this manner he notices and reviews not fewer than 11,000 volumes. As the literary history of physic was among the favourite objects of Haller, this publication cannot but be highly acceptable to such as possess a congenial taste; while the general use and information they afford are sufficiently obvious. Eight volumes of this work were published between the years 1771 and 1778. The anatomical, including the physiology, the botanical, and the surgical, were each comprised in two volumes, and bring down the respective subjects nearly to the present time. Two, on the practice of physic, were published by Haller, a third after his decease by Dr. Tribolet, and a fourth by Dr. Brandis of Childensheim, from the manuscript of Haller, which the learned author has considerably augmented.

HALLER

HALLER employed the latter period of his life in sending extracts from eminent publications for the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*; furnished many of the articles for the supplement to the Paris Encyclopédie, for the quarto improved edition of the same work published at Yverdun, and for the dictionary of natural history printed at the same place. He meditated also a new edition of his great physiological work, of which he put forth the first volume in 1777, only a few months before his death.

HIS active imagination brooding on the civil and political affairs, in which he had been lately engaged, produced, between 1771 and 1774, his three political romances, *Ufong*, *Fabius* and *Cato*, and *Alfred*, which treat of the despotic, republican, and monarchical forms of government. In *Ufong* he sketches, with a masterly hand, the abuses of absolute authority, and sets forth, in the character of the principal personage, the happy effects which may be derived from a virtuous and intelligent sovereign, even amidst the horrors of oriental despotism. In *Fabius* and *Cato* he describes, with an animation and spirit worthy of antient Rome, but with a partiality natural to a republican, the aristocratical government as most friendly to the display of patriotism, and most congenial to the exertions of genius. In these romances he discovers sound principles of legislation, great political sagacity, a deep insight into human nature, and a most extensive acquaintance with history. In *Alfred* he displays the advantages of a limited monarchy, wherein the balance of power is wisely distributed; and which, while it avoids the extremes of either, enjoys the benefits of both.

WHEN

WHEN we consider Haller as a man of piety and a Christian, we observe him tracing, from a comprehensive view of the creation in its grandest as well as in its minutest parts, the *necessary* existence of a Supreme Being, and the great principles of natural religion. We shall see him demonstrating the divine origin of Christianity from a profound study of the New Testament, from the excellence of its morality, its manifest influence over the happiness of mankind, and its tendency to meliorate our nature; and we shall find him proving himself, both in his life and writings, a zealous friend and able advocate of the revealed doctrines.

HALLER, at a very early period of his life, undertook the defence of natural and revealed religion on all occasions. In 1732 he declared, in his preface to his poetry, that he was firmly convinced of their truth; in 1747, he rejected with horror the dedication which La Metrie offered to prefix to his work entitled "*L'Homme Machine*;" and he declared, in various literary journals, that he neither acknowledged as his friend, or his disciple, a man who entertained such impious notions. In a preface which he published in 1751, to Formey's abridgement of Crouzas's "*Examen du Pyrrhonisme*," he paints, in the strongest colours, the dreadful effects of infidelity both on society and individuals. He put forth, in the German tongue, "Letters to his Daughter, on the Truth of the Christian Revelation;" he published an extract from Ditton's "Truth of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ," which he acknowledges to have first cleared any doubts he might entertain on that subject. He avows, at the same time, that he received infinite satisfaction from the study

study of the New Testament, because he was never more certain of holding converse with the Deity, than when he read his *will* in that divine book.

IN 1775, he finally gave to the public, also in the German language, "Letters concerning several late Attempts of Freethinkers yet living against Revelation." In this work the author examines and refutes the objections to Christianity, advanced in so lively and dangerous a manner by Voltaire in his *Questions sur l'Encyclopedie*. "If this latter publication," adds Sennebier, "may be considered as an Index to the Doubts and Arguments against the Christian Religion, the work of Haller may be entitled an Index to the Answers in favour of the same Revelation, to be consulted by those who wish impartially to discuss both sides of this important question." When learning and philosophy, instead of being employed in supporting sceptical tenets by artful sophistry, thus lend their united assistance to the cause of religion, they truly become an honour to the professor, and a benefit to society.

BUT even this great and good man was not exempt from a too anxious solicitude for his welfare in a future state. That depression of spirits, which ought justly to be considered as the effects of disease, and the warmth of his imagination conspiring perhaps with the narrow principles of Calvinism, in which he had been educated, led him to reflect rather on the *justice* than the *mercy* of the Deity, and to bewilder himself in the endless mazes of predestination and grace.

In

In one of his desponding fits, he compared himself, as uncertain of salvation, to a man placed on the edge of a precipice without any support, and expecting every instant to fall. At another moment, animated with a passion for science, he breaks out, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, into an exclamation, expressive of his regret to quit a world which he had improved by his discoveries, and which he might still further illuminate by his zeal and application. "O my poor brain, which must return to dust; and all the knowledge and information which I have been collecting with such unwearied labour, will *fade away* like the dream of an infant."

THESE little weaknesses of a great mind overpowered by constitutional irritability, and struggling against early prejudices, are more interesting to the man who feels and respects the imperfections of human nature, even in its most exalted state, than the most pompous and exaggerated accounts of *unerring* wisdom, or *uniform* virtue which never existed. It is, however, a pleasing satisfaction to learn, that reason and religion rose superior to the gloomy despondency of sickness; and that Haller met death with the calmness of a philosopher, and the faith of a Christian. In the last letter which he wrote, a few days before his decease, he speaks indeed of the tremendous grandeur of eternity, but with hopes rather than with fears; and looks back upon his past life with satisfaction: amidst a few complaints uttered on his painful sufferings, he mentions his country with the most ardent affection, and offers up his last prayers for its preservation and welfare.

HE

HE continued his literary labours, and preserved his senses and composure to the last moment; he beheld his end approaching without fear and regret; "My friend," said he to the physician who attended him, "I die, my pulse is stopped," and then expired. He expired on the 12th of December 1777, in the seventieth year of his age.—Thus lived, and thus died, the great Haller; a man to whom Michaelis, the eminent orientalist, justly applies an observation which had been made on the genius of Aristotle; "*Neque cælo, neque terrâ, neque mari quicquam relinquere voluit incognitum, indole præterea adeo mirabili, ut ad singula natum præcipuè dicas* *."

IN his person Haller was tall and majestic, of a serious and expressive countenance; he had at times an open smile, always a pleasing tone of voice, usually low, and seldom elevated, even when he was most agitated. He was fond of unbending himself in society, was on those occasions remarkably cheerful, polite, and attentive; he would converse with the ladies on fashions, modes of dress, and other trifles, with as much ease as if he had never secluded himself from the world.

MR. BONNET informed me, that Haller wrote with equal facility the German, French, and Latin tongues; that he was so well acquainted with all the European languages, except the Russian, Polish, and Hungarian, as to speak with the

* He left nothing unexplored, either in the heavens, on the earth, or in the sea, and was of such wonderful capacity, that he seemed born for the immediate object of his pursuit.

natives in their respective idioms. When he conversed on any topic of literature, his knowledge was so extensive, that he seemed to have made that subject his particular study. His profound erudition in every branch of science, is well known to all who are conversant with his works: but the variety of his information, and the versatility of his talents, are delineated by a person * who was his particular friend. "He possessed a fundamental knowledge of natural history; was well read in history both antient and modern, universal and particular; and uncommonly versed in the state of agriculture, manufactures, trade, population, literature, and languages of the respective nations of Europe: he had read with attention the most remarkable voyages and travels; and was particularly conversant in the late discoveries which tend to illustrate the geography of the globe. He had even perused many thousand novels and plays; and possessed such an astonishing memory, that he could detail their contents with the utmost precision."

As it was his custom to make extracts, and to give his opinion of every book which came into his hands, as well for his own private use, as for the Gottingen Review †, he read most new publications, and so eager was he usually in the perusal, that he laid them upon the table even when he was at dinner, occasionally looking into them, and marking those parts with a pencil, which he afterwards extracted

* Tschärner Lobrede, &c. p. 87.

† Haller reviewed, as his department for that literary journal, all publications on history, medicine, anatomy, natural history, and several miscellaneous works, particularly those which appeared in Italy.

or commented upon. He was accustomed to make his remarks on small pieces of paper, of different sizes, which he placed in order, and fastened together: a method he learned from Leibnitz.

HE derived from nature extreme sensibility, or rather irritability of temper, which is ever the child of genius. He spoke therefore from his own experience, when, in a letter to Voltaire he thus expressed himself:—" Providence holds with an equal hand the balance of human happiness. He has loaded you with riches, he has loaded you with glory; but misfortune was necessary, and he preserved the equilibrium by giving you sensibility. If my wishes could take effect, I would bestow upon you that *tranquillity* which flies at the approach of genius, which is inferior to genius in relation to society, but far superior in regard to ourselves: then the most celebrated man in Europe should be at the same time the most happy *."

HE was always impatient under sickness as well from his extreme susceptibility of pain, as because he was precluded in that situation from his literary occupations. He was fond, therefore, of taking violent remedies, more calculated to remove the immediate effects of pain, and to

* Il faut bien que la providence veuille tenir la balance égale pour tous les humains. Elle vous a comblé de biens, elle vous a comblé de gloire; mais il vous falloit du malheur, elle a trouvé l'équilibre en vous rendant sensible. — Si les souhaits avoient du pouvoir, j'ajouterois aux bienfaits du destin; je vous don-

nerois de la tranquillité, qui fuit devant le genie, qui ne le vaut pas par rapport à la société; mais qui vaut bien davantage par rapport à nous-même: des-lors l'homme le plus célèbre de l'Europe seroit aussi le plus heureux.

check his disorder, than to cure it radically. In his latter years he accustomed himself to opium*, which, operating as a temporary palliative, only increased his natural impatience. This restlessness of temper, which occasionally disturbed his tranquillity even in his younger days, and in the full flow of his health and spirits, was considerably heightened by the advances of age, and the disorders which shattered his frame towards the close of his days.

HIS correspondence in every period of his life was extensive, punctual, and carried on in the English, French, German, Latin, and Italian languages. Six volumes of Latin epistles, and three in the German tongue, addressed to him from men of learning in various parts of Europe, have been given to the public, but his own have never made their appearance. It is much to be lamented, that he seldom preserved any copies, being himself too much occupied for that purpose; and never sufficiently rich to maintain a secretary. His two principal correspondents, to whom he opened his heart, were Bonnet of Geneva, and John Gesner of Zurich: to the latter he wrote either in German or Latin, to Mr. Bonnet in the French tongue. This celebrated friend of Haller possesses seven manuscript volumes of his letters: it was an uninterrupted correspondence of twenty-three years; begun in March 1754, and finishing only a few days before his death, in December 1777. This epistolary commerce comprehends a great variety of subjects, principally concerning physiology, natural history, the structure of the

* Zimmerman informs us, that he took daily so large a quantity as eight grains. Ueber die Einsamkeit, p. 216. ed. Leipf. 1784.

globe, politics, morality and religion. Haller being accustomed to consult his friend on all occasions, to disclose his most secret thoughts, and to relate his diurnal occupations; these effusions of the moment discover the successive train of his studies, the progress of his discoveries, and his gradual advances in knowledge.

“THESE letters of my most respectable friend,” added Bonnet, “display his genius, his understanding, and the goodness of his heart, more fully than any of his publications. His style, concise, energetic yet picturesque, corresponds with the strength and originality of his ideas; and he speaks, with no less sublimity than conviction, of the great truths of natural and revealed religion. Though he treats the numerous advocates for infidelity, and particularly Voltaire, with sufficient severity; yet his heat is the ardour of conviction, and did not proceed from either pique or spirit of contradiction: he seemed as if he was personally interested in all questions on revelation, and pleaded its cause as if it had been his own. He is no less severe against those writers, who seem to exclude the intervention of a first intellectual cause in the creation and arrangement of the universe, and particularly censures the materialists, who endeavour to deduce mechanically the formation of organized bodies. In a word, his philosophy was entirely practical, because it was entirely Christian; and nothing secured his approbation, but what tended to improve the understanding, or to amend the heart.” I am concerned to find, that the publication of this correspondence, between two such enlightened and virtuous philosophers as Haller and Bonnet, which

which in some works had been announced to the public, should, on account of private reasons, be relinquished. Religion, morality, philosophy, and learning, would be greatly benefited by this epistolary commerce.

HALLER's library, consisting of about 4,000 volumes, was purchased for £. 2,000 by the emperor, for the public library of Milan, where I examined it in 1785. The collection is particularly rich in books of natural history, and is rendered invaluable from numerous annotations of Haller, written on the margins.

HALLER was three times married, first to Marianne Wytsen, in 1731, who died in 1736. 2. To Elizabeth Buchers, in 1738, who died in childbed the same or the following year; both natives of Berne. 3. In 1739, to Amelia Frederica Teichmeyer, a German lady, who survived him. He has written and published the lives of his two first wives. He left eight children, four sons and four daughters, all of whom he lived to see established. His eldest Gotlieb Emanuel, who was born in 1735, followed his father's example in dedicating himself to the service of his country, and to the pursuits of literature. He was elected member of the Great Council, and obtained various employments under government, particularly the bailliage of Nyon, in which situation he died in 1786. He distinguished himself as an author by various publications tending to illustrate the history and literature of Switzerland, and particularly by his *Schweitzer-bibliothek*, or Swiss Library, in six volumes 8vo. of which he lived to publish
only

only the first. In this work, deservedly esteemed for its method and accuracy, the indefatigable author enumerates all the books which treat of Switzerland, in all languages, and all the works published by the Swifs on all subjects. He even descends to the minutest articles which have appeared in reviews and journals; and in most instances, where the publication deserves detail, analyses the contents, corrects the errors, and gives his opinion on the merits of the performance. I was personally acquainted with the learned author, and am indebted to him for some curious information on Switzerland, and for several anecdotes relative to his illustrious father, which I have introduced into these biographical memoirs.

LETTER

LETTER 58.

MR. SPRUNGLI'S COLLECTION OF SWISS BIRDS—
OF THE BEARDED VULTURE.

MR. SPRUNGLI'S cabinet of natural history, is remarkable for the collection of stuffed birds, both local and migratory, that are found in Switzerland. In 1776 this collection consisted of two hundred specimens; and when I last visited Berne, in 1786, it had received an addition of fifty species. As naturalists have long expected with impatience an account of this invaluable collection, I obtained from Mr. Sprungli the enclosed catalogue, which will assist me in attempting to form a *Faunula Helvetica* *.

ONE of the most remarkable birds in Mr. Sprungli's collection, is the *vultur barbatus* of Linnæus, the *vultur aureus* of Gefner, or bearded vulture of the English ornithologists. As many fabulous tales have been related concerning its uncommon strength and rapaciousness; as great confusion has arisen from the variety of names applied by different naturalists to the same bird; and as some travellers have doubted whether this specimen is the large vulture of the Alps, or the golden vulture of Conrad Gefner; I shall therefore subjoin a description from particulars principally communicated to me by Mr. Sprungli himself, accompanied with a draw-

* See the end of this volume.



Head of the BEARDED VULTURE from a Drawing of the Natural Size.

London, Published as the Act directs January 26th 1789, by T. Cadell, Strand.

ing of the head from the natural size. This specimen was a female bird, caught in the canton of Glarus; it measured from the tip of the beak to the extremity of the tail, six feet six inches French * measure; and eight feet from the tip of one wing to that of the other expanded. It weighed, when first taken, eleven pounds. This bird, though always called a vulture, yet differs from that genus, and is referable to the eagle, in having the head and neck covered with feathers; whereas one of the distinctions of the vulture, according to Linnæus, is that the head is destitute of feathers. Notwithstanding this distinguishing mark, by which it is referable to the eagle or *falco* genus; yet Linnæus was probably induced to class it with the vultures, from the general form of the body, and shape of the beak, which is the *first essential* characteristic in the genera of birds.

MR. SPRUNGLI, however, is of opinion, that it might be classed between the vulture and the eagle; and Stor† proposes to form a new genus of it, under the name of GYPÆTUS, by the following characters:

Rostrum rectum, basi cera instructum setis porrectis confertissimis barbatum; apice auctum unco sulcato.

Caput pennis tectum.

The specific character he would define thus:

Gypaetus (grandis) albido-rutilus dorso fuscus, tænia nigra supra et infra oculos.

* Six feet eleven inches $\frac{1}{2}$ English, and eight feet six inches $\frac{6}{15}$.

† See Stor's Alpen Reisin, vol. i.

It inhabits the highest parts of the great chain of the Alps which separates Switzerland from Italy, makes its nest in clefts of rocks inaccessible to man, and usually produces three young ones at a time, sometimes four, if we may judge from that number accompanying the old birds, when they descend into the lower regions for prey. They live on animals which inhabit the Alps, such as the chamois, white hares, marmots, snow hens, kids, and particularly lambs, from which circumstance it is called *lammer-geyer*, or *lamb vulture*. If common report may be credited, this rapacious creature sometimes attacks even man, and carries off children. Mr. Sprungli, without absolutely denying the possibility of this account, has, notwithstanding all his researches, never been able to ascertain a well-authenticated instance; and thence rather concludes it to be a fable invented by the peasants to frighten their children. This species does not appear but in small companies, usually consisting of the two old birds and their young.

CONRAD GESNER has given a short but accurate description of this bird under the name of *vultur aureus*, or goldgeyer*; and an engraving from a skin sent to him from the Grisons. This figure, although rudely executed, yet exhibits with sufficient accuracy the distinguishing characters of the species and genus, such as the configuration of the beak, the legs feathered down to the claws, and particularly the beard. In fine, a comparison with the specimen in Mr. Sprungli's collection evidently proves that it is

* See *Hist. Avium*, edit. Frank. p. 710.

the same bird. Since this great naturalist, no other person seems to have described it from nature, except Edwards, under the denomination of the bearded vulture. The description of that bird, and the engraving given by Edwards* from a specimen sent from Santa Cruz in Barbary, correspond exactly with the *vultur barbatus* of Sprungli; and the head, if compared with the drawing annexed to this account, will be found to answer sufficiently.

MR. SPRUNGLI favoured me with the following remarks, in answer to those travellers who assert, that his specimen is not the large vulture of the Alps, sometimes called, from its *yellowish* plumage, the *vautour jaune*, but a smaller species; because the larger sort measures sometimes fourteen feet, or more, from the tip of one wing to that of the other. He possesses two specimens of this bird; the one a full grown female, from which my description and drawing are taken, measuring eight French feet: the other is a male, but young, and is somewhat less. He has also examined four specimens, none of which measured more than nine feet; but as these several specimens were not full grown males, he is ready to allow, that an instance or two may possibly have occurred, in which this bird may have measured near twelve feet from tip to tip of the wing. Those who give it a greater expansion, have derived their information either from persons who were not naturalists, or from uncertain and exaggerated reports. The same remark may also be applied to the fabulous stories recorded by the peasants, concerning its wonder-

* See tab. 106. of his History.

ful strength as well as size. It is likewise to be observed, that the peasants do not confine the name of *lammer-geyer* to this species; but extend it indiscriminately to several large birds of prey, from whence has arisen great confusion of names, and much uncertainty in the accounts of this bird.

SOME ornithologists seemed to have formed of it several species, which on comparison will appear to be the same, or only varieties of the same species. Thus the bearded vulture, the cinereous vulture, and the fulvous vulture, which Mr. Latham has described as three different species, are probably the same bird as that in Mr. Sprungli's collection. Of the first there can be no doubt, since Mr. Latham refers to the bearded vulture of Edwards, which I have shewn to be that of Mr. Sprungli. The cinereous vulture is described by Latham after Brisson: "Beneath the throat hangs a kind of beard, composed of very narrow feathers like hairs; legs covered with feathers quite to the toes, which are yellow; claws black *." This description accords with the bird in question, and particularly in the beard, which is the distinguishing characteristic. The fulvous vulture of Latham is the griffin of Buffon: and the French naturalist doubts whether it is not a variety of Gesner's golden vulture, which is proved to be the same as Mr. Sprungli's specimen.

WHILE the most celebrated ornithologists have thus given to the bird different names, they have also in other instances confounded it with other birds, to which it has no other re-

* *Syn.* vol. i. p. 14.

semblance than that of size, strength, and voracity. Thus Buffon erroneously conjectures the *vultur gryphus* of Linnæus, or the *condor* * of America, to be the same as the *lammer-geyer*, or vulture of the Alps; whereas the description of the condor given by Linnæus, as well as by those who had seen it, differs entirely from that of the bearded vulture. The condor is described by the Swede as having "the head destitute of feathers, but covered with a slight brown coloured down, with a comb reaching along the top of the head, and having the throat naked and of a reddish colour." Frezier, in his Voyage to the South Seas, also thus describes the condor:—"We one day killed a bird of prey called a condor, which was nine feet from the end of one wing to the end of the other, and had a brown comb or crest, but not jagged like a cock's: the fore part of its throat is red without feathers, like a turkey; and they are generally large and strong enough to take up a lamb. In order to get them from the flock, they draw themselves into a circle, and advance towards them with their wings extended, that being drove together, and too close, they may not be able to defend themselves; then they pick them out and carry them off. Garcilasso says, there are some in Peru sixteen feet from

* Mr Latham, in his supplement to the General Synopsis of Birds, p. 1. seems also to adopt the conjecture of Buffon, in classing the Lammer-geyer and Condor under the same species; though he confesses, "that it still remains dubious, whether the Lammer-geyer be the same with the Condor, or a mere variety of the Bearded Vulture."

He adds also, with a candour which does him honour, "It is much to be feared, that other authors, as well as myself, have greatly confounded the species of Vultures; for being like the Falcon tribe, long lived, their plumage puts on a great variety of drefs, sufficient to deceive those who have hitherto attempted to discriminate them."

the point of one wing to the other, and that a certain nation of Indians adored them."

MR. LATHAM seems also to be no less mistaken, when, on the authority of the translator of the Abbè Fortis's Travels into Dalmatia, he conceives the *vultur percnopterus* of Linnæus to be the *vautour des Alpes* described by Conrad Gefner, and the same as Mr. Sprungli's specimen; whereas, on the authority of Haffelquist, who saw great numbers of the *percnopteri* in Egypt, the head of that bird is "naked and wrinkled," and Ray says, the feet are naked; two characters that essentially distinguish it from the bearded vulture, in which the head is wholly covered with feathers, and also the feet down to the ends of the claws.

THE bearded vulture, besides inhabiting those Alps which separate Italy from Switzerland, is found in Corsica and Sardinia. M. de Hahn informed Mr. Sprungli, that he saw a bird in Corsica which was wounded in the wing, and shewed as a fight, that was unquestionably the same as Mr. Sprungli's stuffed specimen: and M. Lettel, in his Natural History of Sardinia, gives a figure and description of the same bird, under the name of *bartgeyer*, or bearded vulture. It has also been found in the mountains of Africa, since Mr. Edwards received his specimen from Santa Cruz in Barbary. It is also frequent on Caucasus and the mountains of Dauria, or the south-eastern part of Siberia, as we learn from the travels of both Pallas and Gmelin.

You

YOU will perhaps be surprised not to find among the Swiss birds in the annexed catalogue, the *aigle blanc*, or *aquila alba* of * Briffon; the *falco Italicus* †, and the *falco montanus* of the same ‡; as particularly *switzer-falk*, the German name of the latter, seems necessarily to imply that it must be a Swiss bird: Mr. Sprungli however assured me, that he never had been able to discover any of these species in the Alps; that probably the *aigle blanc*, if it exists, is a variety of the chrysaetos; and that both Briffon and Willoughby do not cite Gefner for their descriptions of the *falco Italicus*, but those only who have never been in the Alps.

OF the crows it is worthy of observation, that the *corvus graculus* of Linnæus, or *coracias* of Briffon, is faithfully represented by Mr. Pennant, in his British Zoology, under the denomination of the red-legged crow. It is the same bird of which Conrad Gefner § has given a figure, and to which he applies the German appellations, *taba*, *steintaben*, *steinkrae*, and which he justly suspects to be the *cornix cornubiæ*, or the red-legged crow. The *pyrrhocorax* of Gefner, which some ornithologists seem to have confounded with the *corvus graculus*, is however very different, and is called by Linnæus *corvus pyrrhocorax*. Both these species inhabit the Alps, but the *pyrrhocorax* is the most common; and these appear, according to Mr. Sprungli's observations, to be the only species of the crow genus that prefer to all others alpine situations. As to the *corvus eremita* of Linnæus, Mr. Sprungli

* L. p. 424.

† Ib. p. 336.

‡ Ib. p. 352.

§ *Hist. Av. ed. Frank.* p. 468.

acknowledges

acknowledges it is totally unknown to him. All the ornithologists indeed mention this bird as an inhabitant of the Alps, on the authority of Conrad Gefner, who describes it under the name of *corvus sylvaticus*, accompanied with a figure, which has not the least resemblance to a crow, but rather to a curlew; yet Gefner's description of it is much too imperfect to assist us in ascertaining the bird of which he treats.

LETTER 59.

MR. WYTTEBACH'S COLLECTION—ACCOUNT OF
THE CHAIN OF HILLS AND ALPS SEEN FROM
THE ENVIRONS OF BERNE.

THE Reverend Mr. Wytténbach of Berne, possesses a very curious cabinet, principally relating to the natural history of Switzerland, and of the canton of Berne in particular. It contains specimens of several thousand plants, among which is a large number of the alpine plants of Switzerland; and he has already begun to arrange separately the capsules, seeds, and fruits. It is still more interesting for the great variety of fossils, stones, and petrifications collected by himself in the neighbourhood of Berne, and from the upper and lower Alps. Mr. Wytténbach also possesses various shells, insects, and numerous drawings of the glaciers and upper alps, which cannot fail of being highly pleasing to the curious traveller.

BUT I was most struck with that part of his cabinet, comprehending those objects of natural history, which in any degree influence agriculture, physic, arts and trades; and which sufficiently prove the utility of that science in the progress and improvement of human comfort and knowledge. On this subject he has already published a dissertation in the Acts of the Œconomical Society at Berne. He has not formed this

ample collection from mere motives of curiosity, or from defultory views, but with a fettled intention to illustrate the natural hiftory of Switzerland in general; to form a topographical and mineralogical defcription of the canton of Berne in particular; and to elucidate the original formation of mountains, which is the favourite object of his refearches, and which his frequent vifits to the Alps will affift him in executing with fidelity and accuracy.

AT my request, this indefatigable obferver favoured me with a plan and defcription of that range of alps which is feen from Berne, and of the intervening diftrict; an extract from which I now fubmit to your perufal.

THAT part of the chain of alps feen from Berne, diftinguifhed by the different names of Wetterhorn, Schreckhorn, Eger, Jungfrauhorn, Lauter-Aar-Horn, Blumlis Alp, &c. is represented on the plan annexed to this letter. You will there obferve this immense amphitheatre, gradually rifing from the environs of Berne, to thofe elevated peaks, covered with eternal fnow, and hitherto inaccessible. The plains and hills between Berne and Thun are compofed of rounded ftones, and argillaceous ftones called *molaffes*, frequently ranged in alternate ftrata. The *molaffe* at Gurten, about two miles from Berne, contains, though rarely, glaffopetræ; and the ftrata of Belpberg, about feven or eight miles from the capital, are full of different fpecies of chamites, oftracites, globofites, felenites, ftrombites, and other fimilar petrifications. The ridge of hills which border the high road between Berne and Thun contains, in feveral places, and particularly

ticularly above Mufingen, an extensive stratum of ostracites, some pieces of which weigh more than fifteen pounds each. The situation of the strata in these different hills, their direction, their nature, and the bodies which they enclose, seem to prove, that these hills formed antiently one great plain, which has been since hollowed and divided by the waters, particularly by those of the Aar.

ON the slopes and summits of these hills, which in some places are of considerable elevation, are frequently found those large masses of granite, which furnish materials for the public works and buildings of Berne. These masses so nearly resemble the granite of the Grimsel, and of the mountains which compose the great central chain of the alps, as to render it probable, that in the antient revolutions of this globe, they have been brought by the waters to the places where they are at present found, before the deep valleys, which now separate them from their original mountains, existed. The same remark may be as justly applied to the blocks of marble and other calcareous stones, which, though now removed to a considerable distance from their native situation, are also discovered in large quantities upon the hills adjacent to Berne, and which likewise serve for the buildings of that capital.

As we approach the town and lake of Thun, the view opens and discovers, towards the south-east, that high calcareous chain, of which the Stockhorn, the Neunerren, and the Ganterish have been illustrated by the botanical labours of the celebrated Haller. This chain, which joins that of

Schwartzenburgh towards the canton of Friburgh, is chiefly calcareous, and contains fewer petrifications than the above-mentioned hills: it is not of sufficient elevation to be covered with snow in summer. The Niefs, which is the last mountain in this calcareous chain, stands on the borders of the lake; and separates the valley of Frutigen from that of Simme. It is peculiarly interesting to travellers, on account of the fine view from its summit; and to naturalists, because it joins to the alps. Towards its foot beds of slate have been discovered; higher up it is of calcareous stone; and near its top is found a species of pudding-stone, filled with small fragments of broken petrifications.

IN traversing the lake of Thun, its borders, which are planted with vines, are composed of rounded stones, united by a calcareous cement, as far as the mountains of St. Beat. There, near Rallingen, the rocks are calcareous and rugged, containing, in a few places, broken petrifications, of which it is often difficult to ascertain the species. On continuing my route at the foot of the St. Beat, I observed the first rocks, that are absolutely perpendicular, and even impending, and which are marked at different elevations with furrows, occasioned by the waters of the lake, that, in former periods, was probably several hundred feet above its present level. I remarked the same furrows nearly at the same elevations, in the vallies of Lauterbrunnen and Hasli, which coincidence seems to prove, that the lake of Thun once extended over all these parts, covered the whole plain of Berne, and reached as high as the Lengenbergh, where Gruner discovered those petrifications called Pholades.

HAVING

HAVING traversed the lake of Thun, I entered the narrow but agreeable valley of Unterseen and Interlachen, on each side of which the mountains approach each other, and form, if I may so express myself, the *vestibule* of the alps. This valley, separating the lakes of Thun and Brienz, which appear to have been once united, is entirely formed by the stones which torrents have brought from the alps. On the right is Abendberg covered with trees and herbage, and stretching towards a group of mountains of considerable extent; yet little known, though their tops may be seen at Berne. The Ballenhoechst, Sulek, Schnabelhorn, Schwartzberg, Schwalmern, Schilthorn, Kirchfluh, Latreyenfirst, and Dreyfritz, are the most remarkable mountains in this group, which on one side borders the valley of Lauterbrunnen, and on the other towers opposite to the Nies, at the commencement of the valley of Frutigen. It is united by means of the Seftin alps with the Dents Rouges, and the great central chain of granitical mountains. The mountains of this group stand on a base of argillaceous schistus, containing a few petrifications, which is rarely visible but at certain elevations. Towards Lauterbrunnen, particularly, a fine-grained calcareous stone abounds.

To return to the valley of Unterseen. On the left is another group of calcareous mountains, which extend along the lake of Brienz towards Hasli, and stand also on an argillaceous schistus, which is but rarely visible. And though the granitical chain is at a very small distance, it is, however, so entirely concealed by these secondary mountains, as to be no where discovered, except between Unterseen and Interlachen,

lachen, where the Jungfrau presents herself in all her majesty. From these delightful plains I attempted to penetrate towards the granitical chain of alps, through narrow vallies enclosed between perpendicular rocks of an enormous height; but every where I met with secondary mountains, which, to a considerable height, conceal the primitive bed of granite, and render the approach to it extremely dangerous, if not impracticable. Thus the valley of Lauterbrunnen is bordered by calcareous rocks even to its farther extremity. At Sichelauinen the first masses of granite appear, forming the base of the calcareous rocks, which are of a very great height. As I continued my route towards the chain, which stretches from the Jungfrau to the Grofshorn and Breithorn, I observed a rock of steatite, in which some veins of lead have been discovered and worked at Hohalp. Higher up is the true granitical chain, which, however, even there is frequently covered with calcareous peaks.

I FOUND the approach to this chain less difficult at Wengenalp, the last of a group of calcareous and schistous mountains between Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, which there joins the Jungfrau, the summits whereof appear to be of granite. In the valley of Grindelwald I observed only the argillaceous schistus and calcareous stone: the external parts of the Eger of the Mettenberg, and of the Wetterhorn, are chiefly calcareous, and cover the granite of the central chain; and the only pieces of granite are the fragments, which are brought into the valley by the two glaciers. That chain, which is opposite to these glaciers, and borders the northern side of the valley of Grindelwald, has

has an argillaceous base, which in several places, particularly towards Hasli, contains *cornua ammones*: this base is also covered with calcareous rocks, through which it often penetrates at different heights.

I WILL now take a nearer view of the primitive chain, and trace the alps in the same order as they are marked upon the annexed plan. I shall consider the Jungfrau as the center, from which I will take my departure on one side towards the Gemmi, and on the other towards the Schreckhorn, Wetterhorn, and Grimsel.

THE Jungfrau, or Virgin, is one of the highest and most beautiful mountains in the canton of Berne. The granite does not appear till a very considerable elevation; its foot being in most parts covered by rocks, which are of calcareous stone, called by the natives *Staldenflub*, of which an elevated peak is denominated the Monk. On following these rocks to Sichelauinen, about two leagues from Lauterbrunnen, I observed a red stratum, that seems to form the separation between the granite and the calcareous substance: it is composed of an argillaceous slate of red colour, spotted with brown and green, and of a fine-grained iron ore (as I was surprised to find) containing anomites. I observed the same stratum at the bottom of the Eger and Wetterhorn, and of several mountains towards Hasli: I remarked it at different heights; but as all access to them has been hitherto found impracticable, I cannot attempt to explain a phænomenon, which merits a nearer investigation. The chain of the Jungfrau stretches to the right by those inaccessible peaks called

called the Gletscherhorn, Ebenfluh, Mittaghorn, Grofshorn, Breithorn. I am entirely unacquainted with their structure, except from the fragments, which I have observed at their feet, or on the maffes of ice descending from their tops. Limestone occurs at very confiderable heights; particularly white marble, and a fine grey marble, which is the matrix of a red hematite filled with innumerable small chryftals of iron of an octagon figure, and attractable by the magnet.

BESIDES these ftones, I noticed on the glaciers of Breitaluinen and Breithorn, various species of granite, both foliated and in blocks, of iron-ftone, of *saxum fornacum*, or *stelftein*, and of argillaceous and micaceous schiftus. All these fragments fufficiently prove, that granite prevails in the higher parts, although it is frequently covered with fecondary mountains. To the right is the majestic Blumlis alp, which is a fine object from the plains: a large glacier, mentioned by no author, ftretches at its feet. I first noticed it from the opposite heights of Oefchenengrat, and at the same time observed, that the feet of the Alpfchelenhorn and Blumlis alp are covered with black schiftus, and that the granite is not apparent, but at a great height.

A FEW days after this expedition, I mounted to the fummit of the glacier, called by the peafants Gamchigletscher, where it forms a very fteep ridge towards the valley of Lauterbrunnen. From thence I beheld the vast amphitheatre of the Luterbrunnen glaciers: I remarked alfo, that the valley of Lauterbrunnen ends at this place; that it has only one iffue behind Blumlis alp, where a large glacier, with a plain
and

and unbroken surface, stretches towards the valley of Gaster. Here then is the extremity of the valley of Lauterbrunnen, which expands at the feet of the Eger and the Jungfrau, continues almost in a strait line as far as Sichelauinen to the foot of the Gletcher-horn and of the glacier of Stufstein, where it forms an angle, and bends towards Blumli alp. The ridge of the glacier of Gamchi is of a black calcareous stone, which, in many places, is of a fine texture, and splits into lamina of a rhomboidal form: in other parts it is coarsely granulated, containing white and black spar. The sides of the Blumli alp, that border the glacier, are black slate, in which I found several blemnites, and a fragment of a cornu ammonis a foot in diameter. The pieces of granite which are discovered upon the glacier, and which most probably fell from the summits of the Blumli alp and of the Dents Rouges, is very similar to that granite, in which the veins of lead are traced near Sichelauinen in the valley of Lauterbrunnen. The granitic chain, which extends on the right by the Alpshorn, and the Altits, is entirely concealed and lost in Mount Gemmi, where only calcareous stone and slate are discovered. As I have not yet had any opportunity to examine the mountains of Simmenthal and of Geffenay, I cannot inform you, if the granite appears through any of their calcareous covering.

BUT let us return to the Jungfrau, and trace the mountains towards Grindelwald and the Grimsel. The two high pyramids which tower near the Jungfrau are the two Egers, called from their position Exterior and Interior. Calcareous stone is visible to a great height. Many persons indeed pretend, that the whole side of the Exterior Eger,

towards Grindelwald is entirely calcareous; but I am convinced, from repeated observations, that the substance of these mountains is granite, though it is covered with calcareous stone lying on reddish slate, which in many places forms a species of breccia, composed of an argillaceous base, covered with calcareous fragments. You observe behind the Exterior Eger two small peaks, which seem united by a ridge: these are the Viescherhorn and Zesenberg, which overlook the inferior glacier of Grindelwald. The stones that have fallen on the glacier show, that their summits, as well as that of the Schreckhorn, are of granite in blocks, veined granite, and other lamellated rocks, which frequently contain green steatites, amianthus, and crystals of quartz,

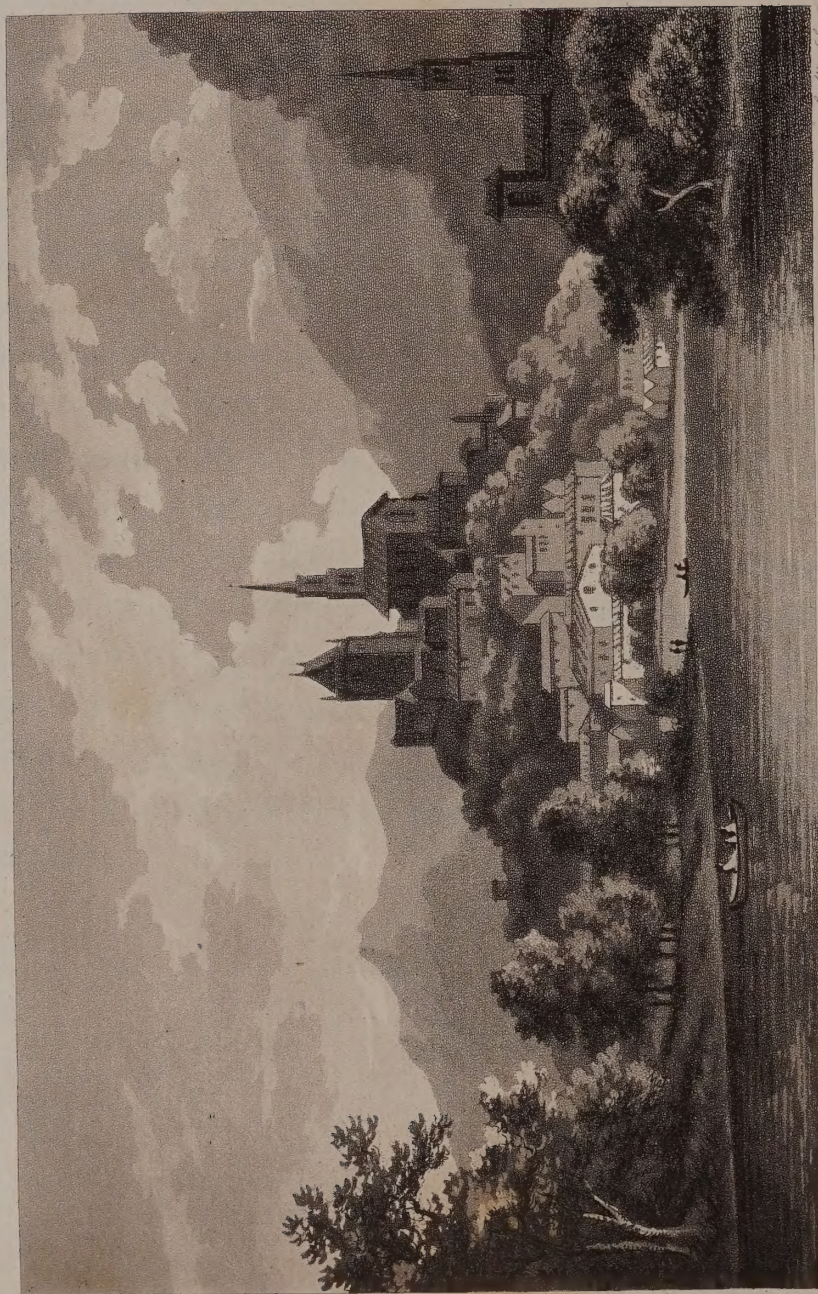
THE high peak, which appears to stand near the Zesenberg, is at a very considerable distance, and probably separated from it by large vallies of ice. This peak, that has hitherto escaped the mention of travellers, seems to be the Finster-aar-horn, which can only be approached from the Grimsel; and by traversing the glacier of the Aar. I have seen it from the summits of the St. Gothard, from one of the heights which separate the valley of Grindelwald from the lake of Brienz; I have been at its foot upon the glacier of the Finster-aar; and on all sides, and in all places, its elevation is stupendous, and appears to me to exceed even that of the Schreckhorn, which has been hitherto considered as the highest.

THE Schreckhorn, or peak of terror, rises between the two glaciers of Grindelwald. Concealed by its base, the Mettenberg, it is not seen from the valley of Grindelwald; and the

the rugged paths which lead across the superior glacier to its foot, are extremely difficult and dangerous. Part of it is observed from that glacier. The tops of the Mettenberg are of granite, and its lower parts of lamellated rock, blended with mica and quartz. The piked summits of the Schreckhorn, which rise to an enormous height, appear to be of pure granite and other primitive stones. The next in this chain, is the Wetterhorn, or Stormy Peak, whose perpendicular sides border the superior glacier. The exterior part of this mountain is of calcareous stone to a very considerable elevation, but its summits are undoubtedly of primitive rock. I noticed along its sides the same red stratum, which makes its appearance on the Eger and at the foot of the Jungfrau. Behind the Wetterhorn is seen an elevated rock, which is said by the inhabitants of Grindelwald to border the glacier of the Lauter-aar, and which from thence has been ascended by several *chasseurs*. On examining the stones which have been brought down by the superior glacier, I did not discover much granite in mass, but often veined granite, and lamellated rock, which frequently enclose pieces of the cornueus spathosus mixed with steatites, pyrites, and quartz. The foot of the Wetterhorn and that of the Mettenberg contain, in several places, a fine species of white marble, with red, green, and yellow veins: a quarry of which, now covered by the inferior glacier, was formerly worked.

IN passing from Grindelwald to Meyringen, I traversed the Scheidek, which entirely consists of black slate, that stands on the foot of the Wetterhorn. This slate continues to compose the chain that divides Grindelwald from the

plains of Hasli and the lake of Brienz. As I descended the Scheidek, I observed, on my right hand, the chain that joins the Wetterhorn and runs towards the Grimsel. As I have not particularly examined this chain, I shall only remark in general, that from an investigation of the stones and fragments which strew the vallies and sides of the hills, it appears to contain the same species of marble which I found on the superior glacier of Grindelwald, also red slate, argillaceous breccia, and various granites. But this much is certain, that the front of these mountains is entirely concealed by secondary substances; and the true region of granite was not apparent, until I had passed Meyringen and ascended the Grimsel, during the greatest part of which ascent I only noticed lamellated rocks and granite. All the mountains which form the Grimsel and the neighbouring chain, are concealed in my plan by the Wetterhorn; they extend behind the Schreckhorn as far as the Finster-aar-horn. This is the true region of granite and other primitive rocks, the heart of the central chain, and the great observatory of the naturalist.



London.

Thun.

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W. Smith del.

L E T T E R 60.

EXCURSION TO THUN, WORBE, AND HINDELBANK—
TOMB OF MADAME LANGHANS.

THE environs of Berne are in general extremely delightful, and no road exhibits a more pleasing variety of hill and dale than that which leads to Thun. It runs through an agreeable country; winds through fertile meadows, enriched with dark forests of pine and fir, and occasional groves of beech and oak. The cattle lately descended from the Alps, were browsing on the pastures, and added to the animation of the scenery. The well-being of the inhabitants is visible from the cultivation of the grounds, and the number and neatness of the cottages and farm-houses which are scattered about the fields, skirted by trees, or half concealed amid tufts of wood.

THUN is distant about twelve miles from Berne: it occupies the bottom and the brow of a hill, and stands on both sides of the Aar. It contains twelve hundred souls, enjoys considerable immunities, has its own magistrates and courts of justice, in which the bailif from Berne always presides, and from whose decision an appeal lies to the capital. The inhabitants employ themselves in carding and spinning filk for the manufactures of Basle. Some of the burghers possess large herds of cattle. To the north-east stands, on an eminence, the church and the castle, which is the residence of the

the bailif, and occupies the highest point. From its windows I enjoyed a most pleasing and extensive view, not inferior in its kind to any prospect in Switzerland. Underneath is the town, occupying both sides of the Aar, standing in a rich plain of pasture, and bounded by a chain of hills, black with forests of fir, which extend from Berne and join the Niefs, a brown and rugged mountain, that rises rapidly from the edge of the lake. To the east, a small ridge covered with vines and trees; and to the south-east, part of the lake of Thun, bounded by hills rising to the mountains and alps of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, "*piled up to the clouds.*" The Aar flows from the lake between two level promontories, prettily sprinkled with trees, on one of which stands the castle of Schadan. The lower parts of this view, contrasted with the rugged rocks and mountains, resemble a painting of Claude by the side of a Salvator Rosa.

FROM Thun I returned about six miles to the village of Maffic, where I quitted the high road and passed through pleasant thickets of beech and oaks, over fields and enclosures; the cottages and hamlets agreeably situated in lawns, and amid clumps of trees. In about an hour and a half I entered the road which leads from Berne to Langenau, and ascended to the upper part of the village of Worbe, where I passed a most agreeable day with an amiable family, who favoured me with a most cordial and polite reception. The view from their house, which stands in the midst of a field, is not inferior to that from the castle of Thun: it commands a rich enclosed and well-wooded country, gently broken into hill and dale, and watered by many lively streams;

streams; the huge white peaks of the Jungfrauhorn, Schreckhorn, and Wetterhorn, overtopping a hill embrowned with firs.

I MADE also an excursion to Hindelbank, a village about four miles from Berne, in order to examine the tomb of Madame Langhans, a most celebrated work of Nahl, a Saxon sculptor. Being employed in constructing a sepulchre for Count d'Erlach, he was lodged in the house of the clergyman, his particular friend, whose wife, a woman of uncommon beauty, expired in childbed on Easter-eve. Struck with the time of her death, animated by the recollection of her beauty, and sympathising with the affliction of her husband, he conceived and finished this affecting monument. It is placed in the body of the church, sunk into the pavement like a grave, and covered with two folding doors. When these are opened a grave-stone appears as if just rent into three fractures, through which is half discovered the figure of a woman slightly veiled with a shroud. She is represented at the moment of the resurrection, when "*the graves are commanded to yield up their dead.*" With her right hand she is gently raising that portion of the broken grave-stone which lies over her head; and in the other holds a naked infant struggling with its little hands to release itself from the tomb. "*Here am I, Lord, and the child whom thou gavest me*,*" are the sublime words which form the inscription. Below is the name of the deceased, "*Anna Magdalena Langhans, wife of the clergyman. Born 1723; died 1751.*" The

* Hier Herr bin ich; und das kind, so du mir gegeben hast.—An engraving of this monument is published by M. de Mechel of Basle.

workmanship is by no means inferior to the original design. The artist has formed the whole sepulchre out of one block, and so naturally expressed the swelling of the stone, that the fragments seem as if they had just burst, and were in the act of opening. The only circumstance to be regretted is, that the materials are not so durable as such a monument deserves; being of sand-stone, they are too soft to resist the effects of time, and even now exhibit some symptoms of decay. Nothing perhaps can more strongly display the superior effects of simplicity over magnificence, than the comparison of this tomb with the mausoleum of Count d'Erlach in the same church. The latter consisting of several marble figures, executed in a masterly stile, and loaded with all the emblems of rank and opulence, scarcely attracts a momentary attention; while this simple grave-stone "*speaks home*" to the heart of every person of taste and feeling.

L E T T E R 61.

VISIT TO MICHAEL SCHUPPACH, THE PHYSICIAN
OF LANGENAU.

Langenau, Sept. 18.

YOU have heard, perhaps, of Michael Schuppach, the famous Swiss doctor; of whose sagacity in discovering the seat of disorders, and applying suitable remedies to them, many wonderful stories are recounted by travellers; and which, like Virgil's Progress of Fame, have increased in the marvellous in proportion as they receded from the scene of action. I am now lodged in the house of this celebrated Æsculapius, situated above the village of Langenau, on the side of a steep acclivity; from which circumstance he is generally styled *the physician of the mountain*.

UPON our arrival we found the doctor in his apartment, surrounded by several peasants, who were consulting him upon their respective complaints; each having brought with him a small phial, containing some of his water: for, by inspecting the urine, this medical sage pretends to judge of the state of the patient. His figure is extremely corpulent; he has a penetrating eye; and a good-humoured countenance. He seats himself opposite to the person who consults him, one moment looks at the water, the next at the patient; and continues examining alternately the one and the other for some time, occasionally whistling during the intervals.

He then opens the state of the case, acquaints the consultant with the nature of his complaints, and has sometimes the good fortune to hit upon the true cause. In a word, his knack of discovering disorders by urine, has gained such implicit faith in his skill, that we might as well question the Pope's infallibility before a zealous catholic, as the doctor's in the presence of his patients. He has certainly performed several great cures; and the rumour of them hath brought persons from all quarters of Europe, who come hither for his advice.

MICHAEL SCHUPPACH was formerly a village surgeon, has a slight knowledge of anatomy, and is tolerably versed in botany and chemistry. His acquaintance with the theory of physic is said to be inconsiderable: the greatest part of his knowledge being derived from his extensive practice, notwithstanding he never stirs a quarter of a mile from his own house; for he would not take the trouble of going to Berne, even to attend the king of France. It is more than probable, that much of this extraordinary man's success, is owing to the great faith of his patients; to the benefit they receive from change of climate; to the salubrious air of this place; and to the amusement arising from the constant succession of different company. But whatever may have been the causes of his celebrity, it has come to him, as all accounts agree, unfought for by himself. He has certainly many excellent qualities; is humane and charitable to the highest degree, he not only furnishes the indigent patients with medicines gratis, but generally makes them a present in money besides, and always appropriates a certain portion of his gains to the poor

poor of his parish. His wife and grand-daughters are dressed like the peasant women of the country; and he has shewn his good sense in giving his grand-children a plain education: the eldest he bestowed in marriage, when she was but fifteen, upon one of his assistants, and with her £. 1,300; no inconsiderable portion for this country. He procured a match for her so early, he said, to prevent her being spoiled by the young gentlemen telling her that she was pretty, and inspiring her with the ambition of marrying above her rank.

If domestic harmony, and the most perfect simplicity of manners, have any pretensions to please, you would be highly delighted with this rural family. The wife is a notable active woman, superintends the household affairs with remarkable cleverness; assists her husband likewise in preparing his medicines; and, as he talks no other language than the German, serves occasionally as his interpreter. As a proof of his confidence in her administration of his affairs, she acts as his treasurer, and receives all his fees; which, in the course of a year, amount to a considerable sum: for, although he never demands more than the price of his medicines, yet no persons of property consult him without giving an additional gratuity. She has likewise received many presents from those who have reaped benefit by her husband's prescriptions: several of these presents consist of valuable trinkets, with which on days of ceremony she decks herself to the best advantage, in the simple dress of the country.

THE family sit down to table regularly at twelve o'clock : there are always some strangers of the party, consisting not only of those persons who are under the doctor's care, but of travellers, like ourselves, who are led by motives of mere curiosity. When the weather is fine, and their guests more numerous than usual, dinner is served in an open shed, that overlooks the adjacent country, with a distant view of the glaciers beyond the lake of Thun. Yesterday some peasants, whom the doctor had invited, formed part of our company ; after dinner, he gave some money to those that sat near him, and ordered one of his grand-daughters to distribute his bounty to the others. The benevolence of the old man, his gaiety and good-humour, the cheerfulness of his family, the gratitude of the poor peasants, the beauty of the prospect, and the fineness of the weather, formed all together a most agreeable and delightful scene ; and I do not remember to have ever partaken of any meal with a more sensible and heart-felt satisfaction.

THIS singular man is very often employed in giving advice from eight in the morning till six in the evening, with no other intermission than during the time he is at table. His drugs are of the best kind ; for he collects the simples, and distills them himself. His house, like those of the peasants, is constructed of wood ; and though always full of people, is remarkably neat and clean. In short, every thing about him bears the appearance of the pleasing simplicity of former ages. I had almost forgotten to tell you, that I consulted him this morning ; and have reason to be highly satisfied with his prescription : for, he told me I was in such
good

good health, that the only advice he had to give me, was “to eat and drink well, to dance, be merry, and take moderate exercise.”

It is now Langenau fair; and the village is crowded with the neighbouring peasants. Great numbers of the men have long beards, and many of them cover their heads with a woman's straw hat, extremely broad, which makes a very grotesque appearance: their dress is chiefly a coarse brown cloth jacket without sleeves; with large puffed breeches of ticking. The women, who are remarkably handsome, wear their hair plaited behind in tresses, with the ribband hanging down below the waist; a flat plain straw hat, which is very becoming; a red or brown cloth jacket without sleeves; a black or blue petticoat bordered with red, and scarcely reaching below the knees; red stockings with black clocks, and no heels to their shoes; their shifts of extremely fine linen, fastened close round the throat by a black collar with red ornaments: the better sort have chains of silver between the shoulders, brought round under each arm, and fastened beneath the bosom, the ends hanging down with some silver ornaments. I am so charmed with the situation of this village, the cheerfulness and singularity of this rustic and agreeable family, and the uncommon character of the humane doctor, that I could with pleasure continue here some days longer; but I am pressed for time, and have a long journey before me.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THIS celebrated empiric died in March 1781; and Langenau, which I again visited in August 1786, was no longer the resort of the sick, the valetudinarian, the curious, and the idle. The doctor had gained by his practice £. 10,000; of which sum his wife received a third, and the remainder was distributed among his son-in-law and grand-children. Langenau is situated at the commencement of the Emmethal, a valley remarkable for its cultivation and beauty. Many of the farmers are extremely rich: the people appear in general contented and happy; the wooden cottages scattered about the fields, are uncommonly neat and comfortable, and announce, in their general appearance, the well-being of the peasantry.

LETTER

LETTER 62.

PAYERNE—MOUDON—GENEVA—CALVIN.

Geneva, Sept. 6.

I TOOK leave of my friends at Langenau, in order to proceed to Avignon; where I am going to pay a visit to the *Abbé de Sade*, author of the interesting memoirs of the life of Petrarch. Monsieur de Vigur, a senator of Soleure, offered me a place in his carriage to Berne: and, as my principal object in travelling is to acquire intelligence, I very gladly embraced this opportunity of leading my worthy and well-informed companion into a conversation, not only concerning the government of Soleure in particular, but in relation also to Switzerland in general; and I found him exceedingly well-disposed to answer the several questions he allowed me to propose to him. The next day I repassed through Morat and Avenches, and slept at Payerne, a town in the canton of Berne, which enjoys considerable privileges. Upon the bridge over the Broye, is an antient Roman inscription: as I was endeavouring to decypher it, a plain-looking man accosted me in a very solemn tone of voice, and said, he had often tried to make out the inscription, but without success; though he could read very well, and had a smattering in Latin. “For,” added he, “what can be the meaning of N and I and O, and all those great letters, which seem to have no connection with each other? Give me a page of plain Latin, and I will translate it from the beginning to the end; but

but for these Ns, Is and Os; take my word for it, notwithstanding all your pains, you will never be the wiser." However, as I did not seem disposed to follow his advice, but continued decyphering the inscription (which was by no means a difficult task) he appeared astonished at my obstinacy, and left me, with an apparent air of pity, to my hopeless fortune.

MOUDON is an handsome town, the principal burgh of a bailliage of the same name, and formerly the capital of all that part of the Pays de Vaud, which belonged to the duke of Savoy. It was also the ordinary residence of his chief bailif, and the place where the assembly of the states were accustomed to meet. The bailif appointed by the sovereign council of Berne, resides in the castle of Lucens, built upon the summit of a mountain, in a situation exceedingly picturesque. This castle formerly belonged to the bishops of Lausanne, and was one of their favourite seats, before the reformation was introduced into this country.

GENEVA lies upon the narrowest part of the lake, where the Rhone issues in two large and rapid streams, which soon afterwards unite. That river separates the city into two unequal divisions, receives the muddy Arve in its course, and flows through France into the Mediterranean. The adjacent country is uncommonly picturesque, and abounds in magnificent views: the several objects which compose this enchanting prospect, are, the town; the lake; the numerous hills and mountains, particularly the Saleve and the Mole, rising suddenly from the plain in a variety of fantastic forms,
backed



A. Cunningham del.

J. Smith sculp.

General.

Engraved as the city of Edinburgh, 1794, by J. Smith, Edinburgh, London.

backed by the glaciers of Savoy, with their frozen tops glistening in the sun; and the majestic Mont Blanc rearing its head far above the rest.

GENEVA, which lies partly in the plain upon the borders of the lake, and partly upon a gentle ascent, is irregularly built; the houses are high, and many, which stand in the trading part of the city, have arcades of wood, which are raised even to the upper stories. These arcades, supported by pillars, give a gloomy appearance to the street; but are useful to the inhabitants in protecting them from the sun and rain. Geneva is by far the most populous town in Switzerland; and contains 24,000 souls. This superiority of numbers is undoubtedly owing to the great industry and activity of the inhabitants; to its more extensive commerce; to the facility of purchasing the burghership; and to the privileges which government allows to all foreigners. The members of this city are distinguished into citizens and burghesses, inhabitants and natives*. The citizens and burghesses are alone admitted to a share in the government: the inhabitants are strangers who are allowed to settle in the town with certain privileges; and the natives are the sons of those inhabitants, who possess additional advantages. The two last classes form a large majority of the people. The liberal policy of this government, in receiving strangers and conferring the burghership, is the more remarkable as it is contrary to the spirit and usage of the Swiss. It is here, in-

* Since the late revolution in 1782, there is a fifth class, called *domiciliés*, who receive from the magistrates an annual permission to remain in the city.

deed, more necessary ; the territory of this state being so exceedingly small, that its very existence depends upon the number and industry of the people : for, exclusive of the city, there are scarcely 16,000 souls in the whole district of the Genevois.

THE reformed doctrines first preached at Geneva in 1533, by William Farel, a native of Gap in Dauphiné, and Peter Viret of Orbe, owed their final reception and establishment to John Calvin. That celebrated reformer was born at Noyon, in 1509, and being driven from France by the persecutions which Francis the First had raised against the protestants, made his first appearance in this city in 1536. Notwithstanding Zuingli, Œcolampadius, and Haller, had reformed the greatest part of Switzerland, some years before that period ; yet Calvin, as Voltaire justly observes, has given his name to the sectaries of the reformed religion, in the same manner as the new continent took its appellation from Americus Vesputius, although the original discovery was made by Columbus. And although Calvin was not the first reformer of Geneva ; yet, as he gave additional strength and solidity to the new establishment, and founded the ecclesiastical form of government, he totally eclipsed the fame of his friend William Farel, who first scattered seeds which Calvin brought to maturity. In truth, so great was the ascendancy which Calvin, although a foreigner, acquired over the citizens, that he possessed considerable influence even in civil matters ; and bore a large share in settling the political constitution. Conscious that religion derives support from every branch of knowledge, he liberally promoted the cultivation of

of science, and the study of elegant literature. To this end, as well as to encourage theological erudition, he prevailed upon government to establish a public academy: but with singular disinterestedness declining the proposal of being appointed perpetual president, he obtained that office for his friend and fellow-labourer, Theodore Beza. In this new seminary, Calvin, with Theodore Beza, and his other colleagues, eminent for their superior knowledge, read lectures, with such uncommon reputation and success, as attracted students from all quarters.

THERE is such a striking splendour in the brighter parts of this disinterested and celebrated reformer's character, as to render us, at first glance, almost insensible to those dark spots which in some instances have obscured its glory. Yet when we reflect on his asperity and arrogance; and, above all, on the cruel persecution of Servetus; we cannot but lament that he did not rise superior to the intolerant principles of the age, which in all other instances he helped to enlighten. With regard to his intolerant principles, it must be acknowledged, that the same uncharitable spirit prevailed also among many of the most celebrated reformers; who unaccountably conceived, in opposition, not only to the genius, but to the clearest precepts of the gospel, that persecution for conscience sake, although unchristian in every other ecclesiastical establishment, was justifiable in their own. This absurd and dangerous opinion, gave great advantage to their adversaries of the papal hierarchy; for, it is obvious to the meanest understanding, that, if persecution is justifiable in any particular church, it must be so universally.

THE republic of Geneva is, however, at present, the most tolerating of all the reformed states in Switzerland; being the only government in this country, which permits the public exercise of the Lutheran religion. In this respect the clergy, no less wisely, than suitably to the spirit as well as the letter of the Christian revelation, have renounced the principles of their great patriarch, Calvin: although they still hold that able reformer in high veneration; yet they know how to distinguish his virtues from his defects, and to admire the one without being blindly partial to the other.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R 63.

ON THE LITERATURE OF GENEVA.

TO a man of letters Geneva is particularly interesting: learning is divested of pedantry, and philosophy united with a knowledge of the world; the pleasures of society are mixed with the pursuits of literature, and elegance and urbanity give a zest to the profoundest disquisitions. Nor are letters confined in this city merely to those who engage in them as a profession, or to those whose fortune and leisure enable them to follow where genius leads. Even the lower class of people are exceedingly well informed; and there is perhaps no city in Europe, where learning is more universally diffused. I received great satisfaction in conversing even with several tradesmen upon topics both of literature and politics; and was astonished to find, in this class of men, so uncommon a share of knowledge. But the wonder ceases, when we are told, that all of them were educated at the public academy, where the children of the citizens are taught, under the inspection of the magistrates, and at the expence of government.

ONE circumstance in this seminary particularly contributes to excite the industry and emulation of the students: prizes are annually distributed to those who have distinguished themselves in each class. These rewards, consisting of small medals, are conferred with such solemnity, as cannot fail of producing great effect. A yearly meeting of

all the magistrates, professors, and principal inhabitants, is held at the cathedral, when the first syndic himself distributes, in the most public manner, the honorary retributions. I met this morning one of the scholars, and, seeing his medal, inquired its meaning? "*Je la porte*," replied the boy, scarcely eight years old, "*parce que j'ai fait mon devoir*." I required no stronger proof to convince me of the beneficial influence upon young minds, from these encouraging and judicious distinctions, than appeared from this sprightly specimen. The citizens enjoy the advantage also of having free access to the public library; and by this privilege, they not only retain but improve that general tincture of learning which they imbibe in their early youth.

THE public library owes its origin to Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, who was twice* imprisoned for having asserted, against the dukes of Savoy, the independence of Geneva; and who considered the hardships he had suffered, and the perils he had escaped, as ties that endeared him more strongly to a city, which he had adopted as his own. He was a principal promoter of the reformation by gentle means and gradual instruction. He closed his benefactions to his beloved city by the gift of his valuable manuscripts and books, and by bequeathing his fortune towards the establishment and support of the seminary. His works, which chiefly relate to the history of Geneva, are preserved with that care and reverence, which are due to so eminent a benefactor. The library contains 25,000 volumes and many curious manuscripts, of which an accurate and learned catalogue has been

* See page. 408, Vol. I.

lately published by the Rev. Mr. Sennebier the librarian. He has attempted to discriminate the ages of the several manuscripts; he describes their form and size, the materials on which they are written, the ornaments, the characteristic phrases, and mentions the proofs on which he grounds his opinions. He adds also the notes, and distinguishes those which have never been printed. M. Sennebier has also favoured the world with "*Histoire Literaire de Geneve*," accompanied with biographical anecdotes of those natives who have been celebrated for their learning. I should trespass too much upon your time, were I to attempt sending you an account of the principal men of letters in Geneva, I shall therefore confine myself to those only, with whom I am personally acquainted.

CHARLES BONNET was born in 1720. His life has been devoted to the pursuits of literature, and to the improvement of philosophy and science. He has proved by his publications, that his indefatigable industry in searching into the phænomena of the creation, is equalled only by his ingenuity in explaining them. His works, printed at Neuchatel, form nine volumes in quarto, or eighteen in octavo, and contain divers subjects of natural history, many accurate observations on insects, on the vegetation of plants, on the use of leaves in plants, considerations on organized bodies, and the contemplations of nature. By several treatises, and particularly his Analytical Essay on the Faculties of the Soul, he has shewn himself an acute metaphysician. Like his friend Haller, he has also stood forth an able advocate for the great principles

principles of natural and revealed religion. His * Philosophical Researches on Christianity, and his treatise on the Existence of God, prove, that an intimate knowledge of nature necessarily tends to establish a rational belief of those great truths. I had frequent opportunities of conversing with this respectable philosopher: though now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he possesses an uncommon degree of vivacity and animation, still retains his enthusiasm for the pursuits of science, and speaks with the same perspicuity and elegance as are observable in his writings.

I WAS no less ambitious of being known to his nephew M. de Sauffure. Born in 1740; he was elected professor of philosophy in 1762; and has given to the public the following specimens of his indefatigable industry, and of the versatility of his talents: various remarks and experiments on microscopic animals; observations on electricity; on basaltic lavas and volcanic productions; on the physical geography of Italy. He has invented an instrument for measuring the degrees of magnetic force; and so much improved the electrometer of Cavallo, that it may be almost considered as a new instrument. But above all, his invention of the hair-hygrometer, or an instrument for measuring the moisture of the atmosphere, has enabled him to make many theoretical and experimental researches that are detailed in his *Essai sur l'Hygrometre*. And although a controversy is now subsisting

* A translation of his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Preuves du Christianisme*, has been lately given to the public, by John Lewis Boissier, Esq. under the title of "Philosophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Christianity."

between

between him and M. de Luc, concerning the propriety of hair as an instrument for this purpose; yet it cannot depreciate this invention; and new lights must be thrown on that subject by the opposition of two such able naturalists. His *Voyages dans les Alpes*, of which two volumes in quarto have already made their appearance, treat of the physical geography of the alps, the formation of mountains, the origin of the glaciers, and various phænomena of nature, which peculiarly distinguish Switzerland. Unlike some philosophers of the present age, who from their cabinet, and with no other knowledge of the earth than what is acquired by books, peremptorily and presumptuously decide on the theory of the globe, this indefatigable observer draws from repeated travels, and incessant experience, a fund of facts, which may enable him to complete the great design and object of all his researches, that of establishing a more perfect theory of the earth.

THE cabinet of M. de Sauffure is an object worthy of the traveller's curiosity. It contains a collection of foreign and Swiss butterflies; various petrifications and fossils, more particularly a large variety of basalts and volcanic productions; numerous specimens of granites and other primitive stones; which he has collected during his various expeditions, and from parts which have been only visited by himself. M. de Sauffure has lately resigned the professorship of experimental philosophy, and is succeeded by my very worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Pictet Turretini, who has already distinguished himself by various publications, which elucidate several important branches of experimental philosophy.

PAUL Henry Mallet, born at Geneva in 1730, passed the earlier part of his life at Copenhagen as preceptor to the present king, Christian the Sixth. His introduction to the history of Denmark, under the title of Northern Antiquities, proves him a profound and accurate antiquarian; and his histories of Hesse, Brunswic, and Denmark, shew him no less eminent as an historian. I should on this occasion be unmindful of the honour conferred on me, if I omitted to mention, that his latest work is a translation of my Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which he has added many remarks, and a Journey into Norway.

M. DE LUC, reader to the queen of Great Britain, and resident in England, is also a native of Geneva. He was born in 1727, and published, in 1772, his celebrated work on the modification of the atmosphere, and on the theory of barometers and thermometers: a performance which marks a distinguished æra in the history of experimental philosophy, and which we are happy to find he is still carrying on under the title of *Idées sur la Météorologie*. But in his *Lettres Physiques et Morales sur l'Histoire, de la Terre et de l'Homme*, M. de Luc appears to singular advantage. In this extraordinary performance, he has displayed a most extensive knowledge of nature, and has applied it with great sagacity in forming a new theory of the earth, and in a happy accommodation of his hypothesis to the Mosaic account of the creation. The cabinet of M. de Luc is not only remarkable for the number and rarity of many specimens; but more particularly claims the attention of the naturalist, as a systematic collection, tending to illustrate his theory of the globe. With this view
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it may be divided into three principal parts. The first part contains petrifications and fossils; the second, the collection of stones; and the third, lavas and volcanic productions. The first part is arranged in such a manner, under three distinct heads, as may enable the naturalist, 1. to compare the petrifications of animals and vegetables with the same bodies, which are still known to exist in our parts of the globe; 2. to compare those petrifications of animals and vegetables with the same bodies which are known to exist in distant countries; 3. to consider the petrifications of those bodies which are no longer known to exist. The second part comprehends the stones under three points of view; 1. those of the primitive mountains, which contain no animal bodies; 2. those of the secondary mountains, which contain only marine bodies; 3. those which contain terrestrial bodies. In the third part, the lavas and other volcanic productions are distinguished into, 1. those from volcanos now in a burning state; 2. those from extinct volcanos.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R 64.

GOVERNMENT OF GENEVA IN 1776.

THE city of Geneva and its territory were formerly united to the German empire, under the successors of Charlemagne: but as the power of the emperors, feeble even in Germany, was still weaker in the frontier provinces, the bishops of Geneva, like several other great vassals of the empire, gradually acquired very considerable authority over the city and its domains; which the emperor had no other means of counterbalancing, than by increasing the liberties of the people. During these times of confusion, constant disputes subsisted between the bishops and the counts of the Genevois, although the counts at their first institution were merely officers of the emperor, and considered as vassals of the bishops, yet they claimed and asserted a right to the exclusive administration of justice. The citizens took advantage of these quarrels, and, by siding occasionally with each party, obtained an extension of their privileges from both.

BUT the House of Savoy having purchased the Genevois, and succeeded to all the prerogatives of the counts, with additional power; the bishops and the people firmly united, in order to oppose encroachments, which were no less prejudicial to the authority of the one, than to the liberties of the others. During this period, the respective pretensions of the counts,

counts, bishops, and citizens, were so various, as to form a government equally singular and complicated. The harmony, however, between the bishops and citizens, was at length broken by the artful management of the counts of Savoy, who had the address to procure the episcopal fee for their brothers, and even for their illegitimate children. By these methods, their power in the city became so enlarged, that, towards the commencement of the sixteenth century, Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, (although the form of government was entirely republican) obtained an almost absolute authority over the citizens, and exercised it in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. Hence arose perpetual struggles between the duke and the citizens; the latter continually opposing, either by open violence, or secret measures, his tyrannical usurpation: thus two parties were formed; the zealots for liberty were called *eidgenossen*, or confederates; while the partisans of the duke were branded with the appellation of *mammelucs*, or slaves.

THE treaty of alliance, which the town contracted with Berne and Friburgh, in 1526, may be considered as the true æra of its liberty and independence: for, not long after, the duke was deprived of his authority; the bishop driven from the city; a republican form of government established, and the reformation introduced. From this time, Charles and his successors waged incessant war against the town: but his hostilities were rendered ineffectual, by the intrepid bravery of the citizens, and the assistance of Berne. In 1584 Geneva concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with Zurich and Berne, by which it is allied with the Swiss cantons.

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THE last attempt of the House of Savoy against Geneva, was in 1602; when Charles Emanuel treacherously attacked the town during a profound peace. Two hundred soldiers scaled the walls in the night, while the inhabitants were reposed in unsuspecting security; but being timely discovered, were repulsed by the desperate valour of a few citizens, who gloriously sacrificed their lives in defence of the liberties of their country. As a tribute of public gratitude for their glorious resistance, these brave Genevans were buried with great pomp, and their names are recorded on a sepulchral stone. In memory of this event, some of the scaling ladders, by which the enemy entered the town, are preserved in the arsenal; and also the petard, which was fastened to one of the gates, when the gunner was killed before it could be discharged. The war occasioned by this perfidy was concluded in the following year by a solemn treaty: since that period, uninterrupted peace has been maintained between the House of Savoy and Geneva; although the king of Sardinia did not formerly acknowledge, till 1754, the independence of the republic.

No sooner was peace concluded with the House of Savoy, than the flames of internal discord, so apt to kindle in popular governments, and which had been smothered by their common danger from a foreign enemy, began to appear. During the greatest part of the last century, to the present period, the history of Geneva contains little more than a narrative of contentions between the aristocratical and the popular parties. These mutual struggles have been occasionally exerted with so much violence and animosity, as
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to threaten, for a moment, a total revolution in the state; but, happily, they have been hitherto compromised without producing any fatal effects*.

ABOUT the beginning of the present century, the power of the Great Council was become almost absolute. In order to restrain its authority, the popular party, in 1707, procured an edict, that every five years a general council of the citizens and burghers should be summoned, to deliberate upon the affairs of the republic. Agreeably to this law, a general assembly was convened in 1712; and the very first act exerted by the people in this their collective capacity, was the abolition of that edict. An event of so singular a nature, can hardly be accounted for upon the general principle of popular fickleness and inconsistency: accordingly Rousseau, in his *Lettres écrites de la Montagne*, imputes it to the artifices of the magistrates; and to the equivocal terms marked upon the billets then in use. For, the question proposed to the people being, “Whether the opinion of the councils, for abolishing the periodical general assemblies, should pass into a law?” the words employed on the billets delivered for that purpose, were, *approbation*, *rejection*; so that whichever side was taken, it came to the same point. If the billet of *approbation* was chosen, the opinion of the councils which rejected the periodical assembly, was approved; if that of *rejection*, then the periodical assembly was abolished of course. Accordingly, several of the citizens

* The reader will recollect that this letter was written in 1776, before the late Revolution of 1782, which is related in the subsequent letter.

complained

complained that they had been deceived, as they never meant to reject the general assembly, but only the opinion of the councils *. In consequence of this extraordinary repeal, the power of the aristocracy continued increasing till within these few years; when the citizens, by a singular conjunction of favourable circumstances, joined to an uncommon spirit of union and perseverance, have procured several changes in the constitution of Geneva; by which the authority of the magistrates has been limited, and the rights of the people enlarged. Happy! if they know where to stop; lest, continuing to extend the bounds of their own privileges, they shake the foundations of civil government, by too much restraining the power of the magistrates.

THE present constitution of Geneva, may be considered as a mean between that of the aristocratical and popular cantons: more democratical than any of the former, inasmuch as the sovereign and legislative authority entirely resides in the general assembly of the citizens; and more aristocratical than the latter, because the powers vested in the Great and Little Councils are very considerable.

THE members of the Senate, or Little Council of twenty-five, enjoy, in their corporate capacity, several prerogatives almost as great as those which are possessed by that of the most aristocratical states. They nominate half the members of the Great Council, supply the principal magistrates from their own body, convoke the Great Council and

* Miscellaneous Works of Rousseau, Vol. iv. p. 279.

the General Council, and previously deliberate upon every question which is to be brought before these councils : in other words, in them is lodged the power of proposing ; consequently, as every act must originate from them, no law can pass without their approbation. In this senate is vested also the chief executive power, the administration of the finances ; and, to a certain degree, jurisdiction in civil and criminal causes. They nominate, likewise, to most of the smaller posts of government ; and enjoy the sole privilege of conferring the burghership. They compose, moreover, in conjunction with thirty-five members of their own choosing, the Secret Council, which never assembles but by their convoking, and only upon extraordinary occasions.

THESE considerable prerogatives, however, are counter-balanced as well by the privileges of the Great Council, as by the franchises of the General Council. The privileges of the Great Council consist in choosing the members of the Senate from their own body ; in receiving appeals in all causes above a certain value ; in pardoning criminals ; in disposing of the most important charges of government, those excepted which are conferred by the General Council ; and in approving or rejecting whatever is proposed by the Senate to be laid before the people.

THE General Council, or assembly of the people, is composed of the citizens and burghers of the town : their number, in general, amounts to about 1,500, but seldom more than 1,200 meet at the same time ; the remainder being either settled in foreign countries, or usually absent. I ought to have ex-

plained to you sooner, the distinction between *citizens* and *burghers*: the latter, are either the sons of citizens or burghers *, born out of Geneva, or have obtained the burghership by purchase; the former, are the sons of citizens or burghers, born within the town of Geneva. The burghers may be chosen into the council of two hundred, but the citizens alone can enter into the Senate, and possess the charges appropriated to that body.

THE General Council meets twice a year, chooses the principal magistrates, assents to, or rejects, the laws and regulations proposed by the councils, imposes taxes, contracts alliances, declares war or peace, and nominates half of the members in the Great Council. All questions are decided by the majority of voices; and each member delivers his vote without having the liberty of debating. The restriction is certainly reasonable; for, in a popular assembly, like this of Geneva, composed of citizens, the meanest of whom is well versed in the constitution of the commonwealth, and where the people in general have a strong propensity to enter into political discussions; if every voter was permitted to support and enforce his opinion by argument, there would be no end of debate, and the whole time would be consumed in petulant declamation.

BUT the principal check to the power of the Senate, arises from the right of *re-election*, or the power of annually ex-

* The children of those who are employed in foreign countries, in the service of the state, although born out of Geneva, are entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

selling four members from the Senate at the nomination of the syndics, and from the privilege of *representation*. The right of re-election may be exercised in the following manner: the four syndics, or chiefs of the republic, are chosen annually out of the Senate by the General Council; and there must be an interval of three years before the same members can be again appointed. The usual mode of election is as follows:—The Senate nominates from its own body eight candidates, who must be approved by the Great Council; and out of these eight, the members of the General Council choose the four syndics. They have it in their power, not only to reject these eight candidates, but all the other senators successively: and in that case, four members of the Senate retire into the Great Council, and an equal number of the last-mentioned body occupy the places of the degraded senators.

WITH respect to the second restraint I mentioned upon the power of the Senate, the right of *representation*; every citizen or burgher has the privilege of applying to the Senate in order to procure a new regulation, or of remonstrating against any act of the magistracy. These representations have, perhaps, proved one of the principal means of securing the liberties of the people from the respective encroachments of the two councils; as they have frequently prevented the magistrates from stretching their authority to the same extent as has been practised in some other commonwealths of Switzerland. The magistrates are obliged to give an explicit answer to these representations; for, when the first is not considered as satisfactory, a second remonstrance is presented. According to the nature and impor-

tance of the complaint, the representation is made by a greater or less number of citizens; and it has sometimes happened, that each remonstrance has been accompanied by several hundred, in different bodies.

THE salaries of the magistrates are so inconsiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the side of pecuniary emolument: a sense of honour, a spirit of ambition, the desire of serving their country, together with that personal credit which is derived from exercising any office in the administration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to solicit a share in the magistracy. Accordingly, the public posts are generally filled with men of the first abilities, and of the most respectable characters. The revenues of government, at the highest calculation, scarcely amount to 30,000 pounds a year; a sum, however, which, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than sufficient to defray the current expences: so that this republic is enabled to provide for the security of its subjects, from an income which some individuals, in other countries, squander in pomp and dissipation.

It is very remarkable that, in a republic so free as this of Geneva, and where the true principles of liberty are so well and so generally understood, there should be no precise code of penal laws: for although the form of the prosecution is settled, yet the trial of the criminal is private, and the punishment left to the decision of the magistrate. Nor are the franchises of the people ascertained with that accuracy which might be expected. Indeed, under Ademar Fabri, bishop of Geneva in the fourteenth century, a certain number

ber of political regulations, both civil and criminal, together with several particular customs and franchises, were drawn up in form; and the bishop took an oath to observe them. These statutes, if they may be so called, were also confirmed by Amadeus the eighth, duke of Savoy. This code, to which the people appeal in all cases of controversy, is compiled in a very inaccurate and confused manner, and the magistrates refuse to submit to its authority, because it was published before the independence of the republic was confirmed. The people have repeatedly demanded a precise code of municipal and penal laws, so express and determinate, as to prevent the arbitrary decision of the magistrate; and although such a code was ordered to be compiled in 1738 and 1768, yet its compilation has been hitherto deferred.

THE code of civil law is the most perfect part of the constitution; all matters concerning commerce being well regulated, and private property securely guarded. It is unnecessary to trouble you with a particular detail of the sumptuary laws, which are much the same as those in most of the other states of Switzerland, where restrictions of that kind are enforced. But there is one law, relating to bankrupts, too singularly severe not to be mentioned. If a member of either council becomes a bankrupt, he is immediately degraded; and from that moment is rendered incapable of holding any post under government, until he shall have discharged all the just demands of his creditors: even his children are subjected to the same disgrace; and no citizen can exercise any public employment, while the debts of his father remain unpaid.

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IN this city, as in all the other principal towns of Switzerland, a public granary is established. Magazines of this kind, useful in all states, are more particularly necessary in so populous a place as Geneva, which, if the neighbouring powers were to prohibit the importation of corn, might be exposed to the horrors of famine. This corn is dried by means of machines well contrived for that purpose, and re-tailed to the inn-keepers and bakers: a considerable profit accrues to government; and there is always, in case of necessity, a sufficient quantity in reserve to support the inhabitants during a year and an half.

GENEVA is strongly fortified on the side of Savoy, and a garrison constantly maintained: but these fortifications, and this garrison, are only sufficient to guard them from any sudden attack; but could not be defended long against a regular siege. The great security of the republic consists in its alliance with the Swiss cantons, by means of Zurich and Berne: and, as it is the interest both of the kings of France and Sardinia to be in friendship with the Swiss, and to preserve the independence of Geneva; it derives its greatest security from a circumstance which, in some cases, would be the source of danger; namely, that its territory borders upon the dominions of such powerful neighbours. Geneva is the only republic in Switzerland, which has no regular companies in any foreign service; wisely prohibiting the enlisting of mercenaries in every part of its territory.

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LETTER

LETTER 65.

ACCOUNT OF THE LATE REVOLUTION AT GENEVA — ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE INTESTINE TROUBLES — SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF THE TOWN — CHANGES IN THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT — EMIGRATION — PROJECT FOR A GENEVAN SETTLEMENT IN IRELAND — RELINQUISHED.

HAVING in the preceding letter sketched the general history of Geneva, and described the form of government existing in 1776; I shall now give an account of the late troubles, and relate the changes of the constitution in 1782. In this narrative, instead of entering into the altercations of party, I shall endeavour to develop the principal causes which excited the people to take arms, to imprison several of the magistrates, and, at length, to surrender the town, at the moment when they seemed most determined to defend it to the last extremity.

By the edict of 1768, tranquillity was, apparently, restored to Geneva, and several alterations were introduced into the antient constitution. By these changes, the intestine troubles were only smothered, but not extinguished. The *Negatives*, or aristocratical party, discontented at the right of re-election extorted from them in 1768, which they considered as a species of ostracism, were ready to seize the first opportunity

opportunity of obtaining its abolition; while the *Representants*, or partizans of the people, were inclined to push their advantages to the utmost, and to secure their victory by a precipitate exercise of this new privilege.

THE project for the compilation of a new code of laws, which although ordered by the edict of 1738 and 1768, had been hitherto delayed under various pretences, was another cause of misunderstanding between the two parties, and was the immediate occasion of the succeeding troubles. Many reasons induced the Negatives to oppose its compilation. First; An accurate statement of the customs and usages would considerably diminish their prerogatives, by abridging the great discretionary powers, which the want of a precise code must necessarily entrust to the will of the magistrates.—Secondly; As, in order to furnish materials for such a work, it became absolutely necessary to search into the antient archives; it was surmised, that many titles would be exposed to the public eye, which would favour the pretensions of the House of Savoy; and that others would be brought forward by the democratical party, in order to justify farther encroachments. The Representatives, however, continued to demand the compilation of a new code; and at length, in January 1777, forced the Negatives to consent to their demand, by excluding, according to their right of *re-election*, four members from the Senate or Little Council. In consequence of this measure, a committee, for the purpose of forming a code of laws, was appointed by the concurrence of the Little, Great, and General Councils. This committee was to exist two years; and the code was to be laid

laid before the three Councils, for their joint approbation or rejection.

At length, on the first of September 1779, the committee submitted a sketch of the first part of this code to the Little and Great Councils, in order to profit by their observations, before it was presented to the General Council. Many articles, however, being considered by the Negatives as too democratical, met with great opposition: the Senate proposed to the Great Council, that the committee should be prorogued for the purpose of amending the code; but the Negatives, who formed the majority, decided, that the code should not be accepted, and that the committee should be dissolved.

THIS measure was violently reprobated by one party as unconstitutional, and supported as warmly by the other. By the former it was argued, that the Great Council exceeded its powers; because the Little Council having laid before the Great Council the question, "Whether the powers of the committee should be prolonged?" the Great Council, instead of deciding that point, and *that* only; had determined, "that the code itself should not be accepted."—The popular party considered this mode of proceeding as an evident breach of the constitution: for it was argued, that the Senate alone has the power of proposing, and the Great Council the privilege of approving or rejecting the motion, and not that of amending or altering it. Further, it was urged, that as the committee had been appointed conjointly by the three Councils, and the code was to be submitted to

their approbation or rejection; the Great Council did not possess the right of cancelling the code, although they had that of dissolving the committee.

To these objections the Negatives answered, that the Great Council did not dissolve the committee; because, being appointed only for two years, it ceased of course at the expiration of that term; and that as to the necessity of submitting the approbation or rejection of the code proposed by the committee to the three Councils, it might be urged, that the Little and Great Councils had the sole prerogative of framing a new code, and of laying it before the General Council; that they had acted inconsistently in permitting that Council to have any share in appointing the committee; and, therefore, that they now only used their prerogative in resuming those powers which they had unwarily granted to others. Many persons, however, were of opinion, that although the Little and Great Councils possessed the undoubted right of proposing to the General Council; yet, as they had once admitted that Council to a share in appointing* the committee, they were imprudent in rejecting the code by their own authority; and ought, at the expiration of two years, to have nominated, conjointly with the burghers, a new committee, for the purposes of compiling a code of laws, according to the edicts of 1738 and 1768.

* Strictly speaking, the names of the commissioners were not laid before the General Council; but simply the proposal of appointing a committee. The commissioners were privately settled by the two parties; and the burghers acceded to the proposition in general terms, as they previously knew, that the commissioners were mostly favourable to the popular party.

IN consequence of these disputes, the body of citizens remonstrating against this act of the Great Council, that assembly offered to undertake the compilation of the code; and to submit it to the public examination. The opposite party considering this offer as insidious, many debates took place, and various negotiations were carried on between the two parties, which only served to widen rather than heal the dissensions. At length the *Negatives*, considering the public tranquillity as endangered, appealed to their guarantees, France, Zurich, and Berne, and entreated them to protect the laws and constitution. But this appeal had no other effect than to heighten the distrust and suspicion of both parties. In this crisis of affairs, the *Negatives* redoubled their efforts to strengthen themselves by the accession of the natives, and to spread the seeds of jealousy between the natives and the citizens.

THE natives, sons of the inhabitants, who had purchased the right of settling at Geneva, formed a numerous body, discontented and jealous of many exclusive privileges enjoyed by the citizens, and inflamed with resentment against them, for having, in 1770, banished eight of the principal natives, who, asserting, that the rights of the burghership belonged to the natives as well as to the citizens, demanded, that instead of being purchased, it should be gratuitously conferred. With a view of acquiring so considerable an accession to their own party, the *Negatives* courted the natives by caresses, subsidies, and entertainments, and issued a public declaration, that they were ready to confer upon them those privileges of trade and commerce, which had been hitherto exclusively confined to the citizens.

THE count of Vergennes openly favoured the design of the Negatives, and even wrote dispatches to the resident of France at Geneva in order to be communicated to the principal natives, who sided with the Negatives. These dispatches contained the highest expressions of approbation, and strongly recommended them to persevere in their attachment to that party. The attorney-general conceiving this interference contrary to the established mode of proceeding, which required, that all dispatches from a foreign minister should pass through the hands of government, delivered to the Great Council a spirited remonstrance, displaying the danger which resulted from a private correspondence between the court of France and the natives. He artfully, indeed, surmized, that the report of the dispatch from the French minister to the natives, was false and insidious, and calculated to raise a misunderstanding between France and the Republic; and even advanced several arguments, which tended to prove the impossibility, that such an extraordinary correspondence could have been maintained. The irony and spirit of this remonstrance were so offensive to the count of Vergennes, that he instantly obtained the deposition of the attorney-general; and this public step in favour of the Negatives considerably increased their party among the natives.

IN order to counterbalance the offers of the Negatives and the favour of France, the Representatives manifested the most generous intentions in behalf of the natives; and even promised, what they had hitherto reprobated in the strongest manner, to facilitate the acquisition of the burghership, and
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to bestow it as the recompence of industry and good behaviour. Thus the two parties striving who should offer the highest terms, two factions were formed among the natives; and it was easy to foresee, that the first opportunity of recurring to force would be seized by the populace; many of whom had nothing to lose, and much to gain in times of tumult and confusion.

IN effect, such an opportunity presented itself on the 5th of February 1781; when a particular quarrel brought on a general rising. Two neighbouring and opposite parties of natives, casually disputing, loaded each other with virulent reproaches; and from reproaches would have immediately proceeded to an assault, if the Syndics on one side, and the chiefs of the Representatives on the other, had not quelled, by their presence, the rising tumult. The populace assembled on the occasion began to disperse; when a discharge of musketry was heard from the arsenal. Several youths, who sided with the Negatives, having taken possession of the arsenal had fired *, by mistake, on some natives of their own party, killed one of them and wounded another. This discharge was considered by the Representatives as the signal of a general insurrection. They instantly took arms, and marched, in three columns, to the arsenal; where, finding only a few young men, who had rashly fired without orders, they prudently restrained their resentment, and permitted the others to retire without molestation. They then con-

* It is but justice to the Negatives to add, that, according to the opinion of some, this first insurrection was concerted, and the Representatives fired first.

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tinued under arms, and occupied the principal avenues of the city.

THE next morning the committee of the Representatives being summoned by the natives to fulfil their promises of granting additional privileges, and particularly of gratuitously conferring the burghership, held several meetings with the principal Negatives on that subject, but without success: for the Negatives, while they readily consented to the request of the natives respecting the augmentation of their commercial privileges, positively refused to facilitate the acquisition of the burghership. Notwithstanding this refusal, the committee, embarrassed and alarmed at the number and threats of the natives, determined to abide by their promises, drew up an edict, which permitted the natives to carry on trade, and to hold the rank of officers in the military associations; and conferred the burghership on more than a hundred persons, taken from the natives and inhabitants, and even from the peasants of the territory. This edict was laid before and approved by the three Councils; the Negatives absenting themselves on this occasion from their apprehensions of the popular party, who had made themselves masters of the city. By this measure the Representatives esteemed themselves secure of having inviolably attached the natives to their interest, and concluded, that nothing more remained than to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Affairs turned out otherwise; deputies being dispatched from Zurich and Berne in order to mediate between the rival parties, prevailed on the Representatives to lay down their

their arms; and before their departure declared the edict in favour of the natives to be null and illegal. And when the question for executing that edict was laid before the Senate, it was repeatedly carried in the negative, under the just pretence, that the mediating powers had declared it to be illegal; that while the city was in the power of the Representatives, who were under arms, none of the members could venture to oppose it; and that therefore their assent, which had been extorted by fear, was absolutely null.

INFLAMED by this refusal, the opposite party tendered, on the 18th of March 1782, another representation, in which they again summoned the magistrates to confirm the edict. The answer, expected with the most extreme impatience, was at length returned on Sunday the 17th of April, and concluded with declaring, that "Government was neither willing nor able to ratify the edict." Although the committee endeavoured first to conceal, and when that was impossible, to soften and palliate its contents, yet the generality of the natives, who found themselves excluded from the favourite object of their wishes, at the moment when they seemed most secure of obtaining it, crowded tumultuously in different parts of the city; repeating, one after the other, in a kind of frenzy, "Government is neither able nor willing to ratify the edict." As these cries of despair were accompanied by the most violent menaces; the popular chiefs, after several vain attempts to restrain the rising commotions, acquainted the magistrates with the general indignation; and endeavoured, though without success, to persuade them to recal or mollify their
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fatal answer. Mean while, night approached, ever favourable to tumults and insurrections, and brought on the crisis which ruined the Republic.

SOME of the lowest populace having set fire to a wooden barrack, cried out, "to arms;" on which signal the natives assembled in a tumultuous manner, and were joined by the most violent Representatives. The most moderate among the citizens, well convinced, that the fire was only a pretext, and that such an ill-timed insurrection would greatly prejudice their cause, dispersed themselves in various quarters of the town, and tried to prevail on the mob to retire; but without effect. Many were wantonly insulted; and a party, in attempting to secure one of the gates, having fired on the garrison who resisted, it became absolutely necessary for the citizens either to abandon the natives, or to join them in the insurrection. Having hastily adopted the latter measure, the officers of the popular party made their appearance, took possession of the town, and appeased the tumult. At length, after various unsuccessful negotiations to prevail on the Negatives to ratify the edict, the popular party arrested and confined a few of the magistrates and the principal Negatives; and the chiefs of the Representatives, apprehensive that an immediate appeal to France would be the first consequence of their liberty, detained them in prison as hostages for their farther security.

As this arrest and imprisonment of the principal magistrates appeared a measure as daring and atrocious as contradictory to sound policy; it may be proper to consider on
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what principles the Representatives acted, and by what arguments they defended their conduct. For this purpose it will be necessary to view the political situation of Geneva in the moment of this insurrection, with respect to the neighbouring states, and particularly in relation to France, of whose assistance the aristocratical party was secure, as soon as that power could interfere with effect and propriety.

THE act by which France, Zurich, and Berne guaranteed the constitution of Geneva, as new-modelled in 1768, was no longer in force; a circumstance highly unfavourable to the popular party. For, as by this act, the king of France could not publicly interfere in the affairs of Geneva, except in concert with Zurich and Berne, he had only one voice; and consequently could not effectuate any change in the government, provided those two cantons were united against him. These shackles being highly displeasing both to the Court of Versailles, and to the Negatives, who were protected by that court, the count of Vergennes, by a letter written on the 28th of September 1781, declared to the cantons of Zurich and Berne, that Louis the Sixteenth renounced the guarantee, because they had refused to enter into views for the purpose of restoring peace to Geneva; and in a dispatch to the Senate, bearing the same date, and to the same effect, he added, that the king, in renouncing the guarantee, did not withhold his protection from the commonwealth; but still reserved to himself the power of punishing the disturbers of public tranquillity, and of supporting the constitution. The greatest number of the Representatives, weakly rejoiced at this measure, from an idle persuasion, that the minister, fatigued with their trifling dis-

putes, and despairing to overcome the perseverance of the citizens, abandoned them to themselves; and, thus in the very act which inevitably prepared subjection, imagined, that they saw the first gleam of absolute independence.

Soon after this renunciation, M. de Vergennes ordered a regiment to march into the land of Gex, which borders on the territory of Geneva; and the troops were still quartered on the frontiers, when the refusal of the Senate to confirm the edict gave rise to the insurrection. In this situation, the popular leaders argued, that for a long time a pretext had been wanted to appeal to Versailles; and it was now found: they dreaded every moment to see the French troops at the gates of the town; they thought it therefore most advisable to arrest and confine the magistrates, in order to intimidate them from calling in the succours of France, and to render them responsible for the public security. Won over by these specious arguments, the body of citizens continued to act as if their power was likely to be permanent. They deposed several members of the Great and Little Councils, and appointed in their place an equal number of persons who were favourable to the cause of the Representatives. The Great Council thus new-modelled, executed the edict for conferring the burghership on the stipulated number of natives; and appointed a committee of safety, composed of eleven members, with very considerable authority. This committee entirely re-established public tranquillity, ordered the fortifications of the town to be repaired, and inspired the people with the most dangerous confidence in their own strength.

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ZURIC and Berne, on the first news of the insurrection, interdicted their subjects from all intercourse with a government founded on usurpation and violence, and strenuously advised the Syndics to exhort the citizens to an immediate restoration of the legal constitution: a moment's delay, they urged, would be inevitable ruin. A few days afterwards the French minister returned unopened the dispatches of the new Senate, and reminded the citizens of the king's solemn engagement to support the oppressed, and to protect the antient form of government. The citizens of Geneva, though thus deserted by their allies, were deaf to all admonitions, idly appealed to the justice of their cause, and disclaimed all overtures of accommodation except on their own terms.

DURING two months the citizens and natives, apparently secure within their ramparts, convinced either, that France durst not venture to attack them, or that the prisoners would be the immediate victims of such an attempt, and that they should be able to make a long and glorious resistance, would not even listen to any proposal of re-establishing the deposed magistrates; and could not be prevailed upon to sacrifice a part of their privileges, and particularly the right of re-election, for the security of the remainder. At length, the storm gathering from all quarters, slowly approached, and hovered over the town. The king of Sardinia and the canton of Berne, both seconding the views of France, dispatched troops against Geneva; and their respective generals, Messrs. de la Marmora and Lentulus, were ordered to act in concert with the French commander M. de Jaucourt, who had ad-

vanced to the frontiers at the head of a considerable detachment.

NOTHING occasioned more surprise and indignation than the junction of Sardinia and Berne with the King of France; and yet no measure was more consonant to the views of those two powers. The Sardinian monarch was interested in the preservation of a town, which is the chief source of industry and wealth to his subjects of Savoy; and whose intestine troubles had already caused a diminution of his revenue: and as he could not in common policy permit the French to increase their influence in these parts, and to quell, without his interference, the commotions of Geneva, he *voluntarily* tendered his assistance towards the accomplishment of so beneficial a purpose.

THE Canton of Berne, desirous to prevent the interposition of foreign powers in the affairs of Switzerland, used, in a letter to the Syndics, the following exhortations. “Re-
“ double your efforts with your fellow-citizens; and exert
“ yourselves in order to compose the unhappy differences,
“ which must infallibly terminate in the destruction of the
“ Republic. A speedy re-establishment of the legal govern-
“ ment will restore to them their faithful allies, who are
“ anxious to employ their good offices in behalf of the state.” But when these well-timed admonitions proved ineffectual, and the perseverance of the citizens had drawn upon them the resentment of France and Sardinia; Berne could not tamely behold two such powers thus interfering in a crisis, so important to her own particular welfare, and to the
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general interests of the Helvetic union; and, as Zurich had prudently declined to take an active part against her antient ally, stood forth with that firmness and decision which characterise all her councils, and joined her forces to the confederate armies of France and Sardinia.

NOTWITHSTANDING this powerful combination, and even in the midst of these threatening appearances, the Genevans continued to repair the ramparts with indefatigable ardour. The peasants of the territory flocked of their own accord, and without pay, to mount guard, and to work at the fortifications; women, of all ranks, crowded to the ramparts, as to a place of public amusement; encouraging and animating the men to persevere in their labour, and some even sharing in their fatigue assisted in transporting burdens, or in planting cannon on the bastions. In the midst of this almost universal confidence, a few prudent persons, who foresaw the impossibility of resistance, sighed in secret; but were obliged to disguise their real sentiments, and could not venture in public but with an air of hope, serenity, and fortitude.

MEAN while the besiegers advancing on all sides, the three commanders held frequent consultations, and formed a general plan of attack. At length, on the 29th of June 1782, M. de Jaucourt dispatched a message to the Syndics; in which, after expatiating on the disinterested intentions of the king his master, and protesting that he respected the independence of the Republic, and was only desirous of introducing good order, he added, that if they would not admit
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his troops, and accept the following preliminaries of peace, he must force his way into the town. Among other conditions, he exacted, that no person should appear in the streets, under pain of military punishment; that a certain number of citizens, among whom were all the chiefs of the Representatives, should in twenty-four hours retire from Geneva; that all arms should be delivered to the three generals; that the deposed magistrates should be instantly re-established; and that a final answer should be returned in two hours. The generals Lentulus and de la Marmora respectively insisted on the same conditions.

It is impossible to express the rage, indignation, and despair, which these humiliating conditions excited at Geneva. Without the least deliberation every person resolved to perish rather than accept them; and the moment of danger had no other effect than to animate and rouse the courage of the besieged. While they hurried to the ramparts, and were preparing for resistance, the Syndics secretly obtained from the three generals a delay of twenty-four hours. In this interval not only the men of all ages prepared for defence; but even women and children tore the pavement from the streets, and carried the stones to the tops of the houses, in order to roll them down upon the enemy, in case they should force their way into the town.

SUCH was the general ardour; that about eighty women and girls, dressed in uniforms, offered to form themselves into a company, for the purpose of defending their country. The committee of safety accepted their services, and placed them

them in a barrack, which by its situation was covered from the cannon of the besiegers. These amazons, with a spirit above their sex, refused a station that was not sufficiently exposed; and, as the town soon afterwards surrendered, they had no opportunity of proving their patriotism by a display of their valour. All these various signs of the most determined resolution, flowing unanimously from every rank, age, and sex, alarmed the Negatives, who never had suspected, that the people would carry matters to such desperate extremities. Accordingly, their partisans conferred with the most moderate among the Representatives, in order to find some means of reconciliation; but without success.

At length the fatal hour arrived, in which the answer was to be returned: it was to expire at ten on Sunday morning; and at the first beat of the drum the ramparts were covered with defenders. Although the most zealous had only calculated on 3000, above 5000 made their appearance. They seemed to be all animated with one and the same spirit; and reminded each other of those brave citizens of Geneva, who by sacrificing their lives had repulsed, in 1602, the troops of Savoy, when the latter had treacherously scaled the walls during a profound peace. No one ventured even to hint at surrendering; and all awaited the attack with the most determined intrepidity. In this crisis, the French general, at the intercession of the Negatives, alarmed for the fate of the prisoners, again prolonged the period prescribed for the capitulation. The first effect of these repeated delays was gradually to abate the enthusiasm of the women: they could not but feel that they were wives and mothers;

mothers; and began to figure to themselves all the horrors of a town taken by assault, and a prey to a licentious and enraged soldiery. In the next place, timid and prudent persons could venture to conceal their fears under various pretences; and at length the committee of safety, hitherto strenuous in enforcing the necessity of resistance, suddenly changed their resolution, but artfully disguised their sentiments from the public, until it was too late to prevent the surrender.

IN the present ferment of passions and prejudices, had the leaders openly proposed a surrender, they would have been considered as traitors; endangered their own persons, and accelerated those calamities which they wished to avoid. For the purpose, therefore, of gradually bringing matters to the issue which they intended, they assembled the citizens in the respective circles; and after warmly extolling their general zeal and patriotism, represented, that if the city should be attacked in the night, it would be no longer possible to convene them. For this reason they hinted, that it would be highly advantageous to the common cause, if each circle should nominate several deputies, with full authority to decide in their stead; adding, that they ought rather to appoint those persons, who, from their age and respectable character, could assist their country by advice, while others were defending it by their valour.

THIS council, composed of about a hundred citizens, met at six in the evening, on the first of July, a few hours before the last term appointed for the surrender was about to expire,

pire. The chiefs opened the debate with long speeches, in order to prepare the minds of the assembly for the object which they had in view. After having represented the state of the fortifications, which were judged by the most intelligent engineers to be only sufficient for resisting an attack by storm, and not for maintaining a siege of more than three or four days; they ventured to lay before them the necessity of an immediate surrender. On the bare mention of that word, the most violent of the assembly burst into reproaches, and accused the committee with an intention of betraying the Republic. They declared, that they would instantly announce to their fellow-citizens the treachery of their deputies, who were not appointed to deliberate upon a surrender, but only upon the means of the most effectual resistance. Apprehending the ill consequences of such a proceeding, one of the chiefs started from his seat, and barred the doors; while some of those who wished to retire, drew their swords, and shedding tears of despair, "To remain a moment," they cried out "was to share the treason, and to destroy their country." Every method was attempted to appease them: cries and exhortations were heard from all quarters.

At length, when the question concerning the surrender was proposed, a considerable majority voted for defending the city to the last extremity. On this determination, many of the most zealous, trusting to this decided majority, retired from the assembly, in order to prepare themselves for the hour of danger. Another consultation was then proposed by those who remained; the danger of dividing into parties, and of alienating the citizens from their leaders, was re-

presented in the strongest colours. These suggestions being attended with effect; long debates re-commenced. One of the youngest in the assembly, being affected with the pathetic consideration of the distress of those widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers should fall by the hand of the enemy, was of opinion, that only those who were unmarried, and who had no children, should be permitted to defend the ramparts. "We are not sufficient," he added, "to preserve the town from being taken; but enough to save our honour, and to obtain a less humiliating capitulation." He was interrupted by an elderly citizen, who claimed for fathers of families the glory of fighting for their country. "I have six sons," exclaimed he, with tears of exultation sparkling in his eyes, "and who shall prevent me from marching at their head to the ramparts?"

It was then proposed to conduct the hostages in the face of the French batteries, as a means of intimidating M. de Jaucourt from firing against the ramparts; for it was to be presumed, that he would not expose to certain destruction those magistrates whom he came to deliver. This opinion, which for a short time seemed likely to prevail, gave place to the more generous resolution of restoring the prisoners to liberty, permitting the Negatives to retire to the enemy's camp, and then preparing for a vigorous resistance. It was urged, that such a noble mode of proceeding, in so alarming a moment, would probably soften the resentment of the aristocratical party, and induce them to obtain from the French general more favourable terms of accommodation.

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MANY hours were consumed in discussing these various opinions. The fatal period approached: it was midnight; and the chiefs, who had now contrived to strike the greatest number with a panic, won over the assembly to their sentiments, by proposing a general emigration; and consoled them, in the midst of their despair, with the hopes of enjoying that liberty in another country, which they could no longer expect to find in their own. A declaration being then drawn up, to be delivered to the Syndics at the same time with the keys of the city; the hostages were conducted to their respective houses; the chiefs summoned the principal officers from their posts, ordered the cannon of several batteries to be rendered unfit for service, and provided for their own safety by retiring from the town before the entry of the confederate troops.

WHEN the unexpected news of the surrender was announced to the public, they became frantic with despair. Some mutually embraced each other without uttering a single word; others loaded their chiefs with the most dreadful imprecations; while a few, still determined to resist, ineffectually summoned their fellow-citizens by beat of drum to their standards. The greatest part, however, having discharged and broken their muskets, flung themselves with their faces to the ground, and lay motionless for a considerable time. At length a general retreat took place. The roads were covered with persons of both sexes, who fled hastily from the walls; and the Sardinians, who first entered the gates at five in the morning, found the city almost deserted.

THE count de la Marmora, as if actuated by motives of compassion for the degraded situation of Geneva, marched in silence, and without an insulting display of military pomp; and, having occupied the town-house and the magazines for powder, visited in person the different quarters of the city, in order to dissipate all apprehensions of danger. About noon the two other commanders made their entry: they were accompanied by a large body of Negatives, and marched at the head of their respective troops, with drums beating and colours flying. Having joined the Sardinian forces, the three generals conducted the magistrates, lately delivered from prison, to the Great Council, and re-established them in their several charges, to the sound of martial music. The citizens were disarmed; each householder obliged to furnish the officers with quarters; the edict of the 6th of February 1781, which had conferred the burghership on above a hundred natives, was annulled. In the midst of these arrangements, the Great Council laid, with all due form, the foundation of a theatre: a troop of comedians was introduced; and the aristocratical party celebrated their triumph with balls, feasts, and every species of public diversion.

MEAN while a committee appointed by the Great and Little Councils prepared, in concert with the three generals, an edict for new modelling the constitution, which being approved at the courts of Versailles and Turin, and by the canton of Berne, was confirmed by the Great and Little Councils. But as it annulled many considerable rights hitherto enjoyed by the citizens, it was not probable, that it would be ratified
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by the General Council, in which the party of the Representatives had still a great majority. In order, therefore, to obtain its final confirmation, it was enacted, that, when the edict was laid before the General Council, those Representatives, who had taken up arms, should for that time be excluded; under pretence, that the insurrection had rendered them unworthy of exercising their rights; and, that they might esteem themselves extremely fortunate in not being exposed to the utmost rigour of the laws. Accordingly, on the 15th of November 1782, the members of the General Council assembled to the number of five hundred; above a thousand being excluded from giving their votes. And yet even this phantom of supreme power was surrounded with troops. Notwithstanding, however, the exclusion of so many, and the general panic, above a hundred Representatives, and even several Negatives, had the courage to reject the edict; which appeared to many, even among the Negatives, as establishing too rigorous an aristocracy.

THE citizens of Geneva have incurred much ridicule and censure, for having so early and repeatedly expressed the most determined resolution never to surrender the town, and to resist until it was taken by assault. In a pamphlet, styled "*Lettre écrite des ramparts de Geneve*," the author combats all the arguments which might be urged in favour of a capitulation, and vehemently asserts, that he, as well as his fellow-citizens, are resolved to defend the town to the last extremity, and rather to court death from the hands of the enemy than survive the extinction of their liberties. These assertions appeared mere ostentatious vaunts, as the pamphlet

phlet was not printed and dispersed until after the surrender; and led the public to attribute vain-boasting and cowardice, which are usually united, as essential characteristics of the people of Geneva.

ON reviewing the history of the revolution with impartiality, it cannot admit a doubt; that the people were unanimously against a surrender; that, till within a few hours before the confederate troops entered the gates, they expected, and were prepared for, an assault; that they had entrusted the command to the committee of safety; that the committee, alarmed at the near approach of danger, had suddenly changed their opinion, had betrayed them into a surrender against their intentions, and without their knowledge, and had taken such measures as rendered all resistance impracticable. As the committee has been greatly censured for this sudden change of opinion; it is but justice to add, that of eleven members and several adjuncts, who composed the committee, two-thirds voted against the surrender. But, in fact, of what avail was resistance at this period? Upon a supposition that the siege could have been protracted for a few days; the kings of France and Sardinia, and the canton of Berne, had fresh troops ready to march; and in less than a week so large a reinforcement would have been collected before the gates of Geneva, that any further opposition must have been madness. In a word, the popular leaders acted wrong in buoying up the hopes of people, that resistance could be effectual; and by the reparation of the ramparts only served to inspire the public with a dangerous confidence, which they were not afterwards able to allay.

SUCH

SUCH is the history of this extraordinary revolution; prepared for some time by the enmity of the two parties; occasioned by the impolitic though just demand of a code of laws; hastened by the two insurrections: and completed by the intrigues and arms of France. It must be acknowledged, that the Representatives, or popular party, acted in a most imprudent as well as unconstitutional manner; and particularly, that no excuse can be admitted for the second insurrection, and the imprisonment of the magistrates. The Representatives, by the edict of 1768, possessed great privileges, which in time would have placed in their hands the whole administration of government. As the greatest number in the General Assembly, they enjoyed the right of annually excluding four members from the Senate, and of filling half the vacancies in the Great Council; they must, therefore, in a few years, have inevitably obtained a decided majority. The most prudent among them saw this advantage, and were contented; but the greater part, and perhaps a few of their leaders, eager to grasp immediately that power, of which they had only a distant prospect, precipitated measures; and acting diametrically opposite to the first principles of their constitution, hastened its destruction. It must, at the same time, be confessed, that however imprudently or unconstitutionally the Representatives behaved, yet that the Negatives, secure of support from the Court of Versailles, seemed to carry their confidence in their own strength to such a degree, as almost to court the troubles which ensued; and that they have availed themselves of their victory to a degree only to be palliated by absolute necessity. A new form of government introduced by force, must be supported
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by force; by calling in the assistance of France, they must be entirely submissive to that power; and by annihilating the first principles of liberty, in disarming the citizens and forbidding all public meetings, they are in danger of extinguishing that spirit of emulation and energy for which the Genevans have long been distinguished. Having established a rigorous aristocracy, they must necessarily adopt that jealousy and suspicion which not unfrequently characterises the magistrates under that species of government: and the only question now remaining, is, Whether the above-mentioned spirit of emulation and energy will be diminished by the change of constitution; and if so, whether that diminution will be counterbalanced by the introduction of a greater degree of tranquillity than is usually to be found in democratical states?

THE changes in the form of government, introduced by this revolution, are principally comprized in the following articles:

1. THE power granted in 1768 to the General Council, of re-election, or of annually excluding four members from the Senate, is abolished. 2. The privilege enjoyed by the same assembly, of nominating half the vacancies in the Great Council, is likewise annulled; and that body is now supplied by the Senate and Great Council, according to the following complicated mode of election:—In case of sixteen vacancies, the Great Council selects eight members from sixteen candidates proposed by the Senate; and in like manner the Senate chooses eight from the same number of candidates

didates appointed by the Great Council. 3. The right of *representation*, or remonstrating, is taken from the citizens at large, and transferred to thirty-six adjuncts, who may be present in the Great Council, on the first Monday of each month: they enjoy the privilege of making representations, and in that case have a deliberative voice. But, as they are removeable every year; and are drawn by lot from all the citizens in general, who may chuse to present themselves as candidates; they are considered as so extremely dependent on the will of the magistrates, and their representations have such little weight, that they are called in derision, *Les Images*, or The Shadows. 4. The introduction of the *grabeau*, or annual confirmation of the members of the Senate, and of the Great Council, exclusively vested in the last-mentioned body. This law, which may be considered as the basis of the new constitution, has transferred to the Great Council part of the authority both of the Senate and of the General Council. By subjecting the Senate to this annual revision, it has rendered that body greatly dependent on the Great Council, which by the present constitution is become, what the Senate was according to the form of government established in 1738 and 1768, the center of the aristocracy. 5. The circles, or clubs, in which the citizens used to be convened, and all public assemblies*, are prohibited; and they

* One instance of the ill effects arising from this prohibition, fell under my observation: The Society of Arts in Geneva, many of whose members are persons of great abilities and learning, has already given to the world several interesting publications. But as all public assemblies are prohibited, government was suspicious lest this literary society should indulge itself in political questions; and accordingly no meeting has been held since the late revolution. Indeed, when I was at

they are only allowed to meet at coffee-houses. This prohibition was at first carried to an extreme degree of jealousy, highly derogatory from every principle of free government; but lately it has been somewhat modified; and assemblies are permitted to be held in the country, though not within the walls of Geneva. 6. The militia is abolished; firing at marks, even with bows and arrows, prohibited; and the guard of the town, instead of being configned to the citizens, is entrusted to a garrison of 1000 foreign soldiers, whose colonel and major are both foreigners: these troops take an oath of fidelity to the Republic, and of obedience to the Great Council, and to the Committee of War: they are under the immediate command and inspection of the latter, and subject to the superior controul of the former. This garrison may be augmented to 1200, and reduced to 800 men, at the will of the Great Council; but cannot be further enlarged or diminished without the consent of the General Council. 7. No citizen, native, or inhabitant, is permitted to have arms. It is not unworthy of remark on this article, that although by the antient constitution every citizen was obliged to provide himself with arms, under a certain penalty; yet, that when these were delivered up, government did not reimburse the expence. 8. Several taxes were

Geneva, it was then in agitation to suffer the society to assemble; but it was very uncertain whether this permission would be granted; and if granted, whether it would not be greatly fettered by the diminution of the number of its members, and by several other restrictions, incompatible with the freedom of literary disquisitions. It is a matter of little consequence to Europe in general, whether the government of Geneva is more or less aristocratical or democratical: but it is an object of general importance, whether a literary society should be prevented, by political jealousy, from holding those assemblies, which will afford a means and opportunity of continuing to supply the world with learned and interesting publications.

imposed

imposed without the consent of the General Council; but for the future, every change or augmentation of the revenue must be submitted to that body. 9. Various privileges, respecting the equal rights to trade and commerce, formerly possessed by the citizens alone, have been conferred on the natives and inhabitants; a liberal concession, to which both parties willingly acceded.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Genevans seemed so greatly to deplore the diminution of that liberty to which they had long been accustomed, and to which they ascribed the late remarkable increase of their population and riches, that if we had judged from the discontents and consternation of the citizens, we might have concluded the change of government would have been followed by an almost general emigration. The event, however, has not justified this conclusion. Excepting the principal leaders, those of the popular party who were banished, and a few others who renounced their country in compliance with their political principles; the greatest part of the emigrants returned, and again settled in the place of their nativity. And perhaps it may be affirmed with truth, that the late revolution has scarcely driven six hundred persons from Geneva. The emigrants have principally established themselves at Brussels and Constance*; where they have introduced manufactures of printed linens and watch-making.

I CANNOT quit this subject without recalling to your recollection, the plan for giving an asylum to the Genevan

* See Letter 3.

emigrants in Ireland, which so long engaged the public attention. Soon after the revolution, a memorial signed by above a thousand Genevans of both sexes, who were either persons of some property, or versed in trade or manufactures, expressing a desire of settling in Ireland, was presented to Earl Temple (now Marquis of Buckingham) then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His Excellency, conscious of the advantage which must result to Ireland from the reception of so many industrious artists, many of whom possessed property in the English, Irish, and French funds, communicated, on the 27th of September 1782, the proposal to the Privy Council of Ireland for giving an asylum to the Genevan emigrants. This proposal, patronized by the Lord Lieutenant, and unanimously consented to by the Privy Council, was approved by the King. The nobility and gentry of Ireland seemed to vie with each other in countenancing the settlement; the Irish parliament voted £. 50,000 towards defraying the expences of their journey, and building a town for their reception; lands were purchased for £. 8000 in a convenient situation near Waterford; part of the New Geneva was actually completed, at the expence of £. 10,000; a charter was granted with very considerable privileges; the standard of gold was altered for the accommodation of the watch-manufacturers; the foundation of an academy approved, upon an useful, extensive, and œconomical plan*; in July 1783, several Genevans

* The total expence of the academy would, at the highest calculation, have amounted to £. 4554 per annum, and at a more moderate valuation to only £. 3924. For this sum forty-four professors, assistants,

and masters would have been maintained; a public library established; and the expences of a student, in the article of education, would not have exceeded £. 164. 18 s. for thirteen years, or about £. 12 per annum.

landed

landed in Ireland; and when the nation had expended near £. 30,000, the project was suddenly relinquished, and the settlement finally abandoned.

THE failure of this project may be principally attributed to the following cause.—If the settlement could have been immediately carried into execution, the Genevans would have emigrated in very considerable numbers; but many necessary delays were occasioned by the arrangement of so complicated a plan, by the high demands of the Genevan commissioners, who, in drawing up the charter, required many privileges which were contradictory to the laws of the land, and by the building of the New Geneva. These delays naturally giving time for the resentment of the Genevans to subside, many returned and took the oaths of allegiance to the new government. To this circumstance must be added, the departure of Earl Temple, in May 1783, who was the great patron and promoter of the settlement; that the project, as it lost its novelty, gradually became less popular; that the few Genevans, who had prematurely landed in Ireland, although maintained at the public expence, yet were discontented, at not finding the new town prepared for their immediate reception; and that particularly, as those among the proposed emigrants who had most property had withdrawn their names; the remainder did not possess a sufficient capital to settle in a foreign country, and to establish an expensive branch of manufacture without still farther assistance. In consequence of this deficiency, the Genevan commissioners petitioned to appropriate £. 10,000 of the

£. 50,000

£. 50,000 for the purpose of forming a capital. But, as that sum had been voted by parliament for other purposes, this petition was necessarily rejected; and the Genevans, in an address to the Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, relinquished the settlement; and soon afterwards quitted that country.

LETTER

LETTER 66.

ACCOUNT OF THE LATE TUMULTS AND REVOLUTION OF GENEVA IN 1789.

THE late revolution of 1789 having greatly changed the form of government established in 1782, and described in the former letter, I here submit to your perusal a short account of the causes and termination of those tumults, which have been the means of restoring Geneva to its former liberty.

THE edict of pacification passed in 1782 succeeded to a long series of dissensions between the popular and aristocratic parties. France, Sardinia, and Berne, by whose dominions Geneva is encircled, beholding, with regret and displeasure, the flames of civil discord occasionally smothered, but continually bursting forth on the slightest occasion, had combined in order to settle a *fixed* and *permanent* constitution, and took such precautions as seemed calculated to prevent in future any effectual opposition to the government which they thought proper to establish. By the combined forces of the three powers, the far greater part of the Genevans were compelled to submit to the most grievous conditions: the exile of their popular chiefs, the prohibition of carrying arms, and a foreign garrison quartered in barracks, at the entire disposal of government, formed the basis which supported

supported the new constitution. From that period a calm of a few years, almost unknown to the Republic, succeeded; but it was a fullen and a lowering calm: the people were kept in order by the precaution of a military force, not calculated for a small republic; the taxes imposed for the maintenance of that military force, and for building barracks, were heavy, and their burden was felt the more, because they constantly reminded the Genevans of their humiliation and subjection.

DURING my subsequent visits to Geneva, in 1785 and the following year, I found an almost general discontent prevailing among all parties; many of the Negatives disaffected; the Representatives submitting in silent and fullen despair; and the people without spirit and energy. The wisdom of many of the regulations passed in 1782 was overlooked, or forgotten: those only which annihilated the first principles of liberty were remembered; and almost the only sentiment which prevailed, was the sentiment of degradation, arising from the subjection of a free people to a military government. In this state of affairs and general disaffection to the ruling party, many of the citizens secretly entertained hopes of another revolution; either founding their expectations on the embarrassed situation of France, or on the favourable disposition of the Great and Little Councils, the members of which had for some time fatally experienced many difficulties in supporting the authority of government. The minds of the greatest part were ready to take advantage of every incident likely to effect a change of the constitution.

SUCH

SUCH a general spirit of disaffection had gone forth among the people, that administration had been compelled to employ a military force in order to quell a tumult, which took its rise in the theatre on the 12th of December 1788.

THE quelling of this tumult was only a temporary remedy; and the popular discontents broke out uncontrouled on the 26th of January, on account of the publication of an edict raising the price of bread a farthing in the pound. This augmentation, though justified by the scarcity of flour, and passed principally with a view to prevent the exportation of bread, was yet imprudently laid on in the present temper of the people. An insurrection instantly took place; the bakers shops were pillaged, and on the following day a carriage laden with bread, and escorted by soldiers, was plundered in its way to the distribution-office in the quarter of St. Gervais. The soldiers, firing at the populace, killed one man and wounded another: the numbers and fury of the rioters increased; they drove away the troops, and carried the body of the deceased, in a kind of funeral procession, before the town-house, as a memorial of violence and oppression. The populace, roused to frenzy at this spectacle, attacked and occupied two gates of the city, and dangerously wounded the commanding officer, as he was endeavouring to restrain the ardour of his soldiers and the fury of the people.

IN all tumults and insurrections the first moments are precious. The magistrates, instead of acting decisively, had lost them in deliberation; and the position of government

became more and more embarrassing. On the present occasion it was necessary either to retake the gates, which had been occupied by the insurgents, or to confess, that the military force, by which they had hitherto kept the people in awe, was no longer capable of enforcing obedience. The military committee, charged with the command of the garrison for the security of the city, fluctuated between their duty to quell the insurrection, and their repugnance to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens. In this dilemma they hesitated for some time, and at length ordered two bodies of troops to force their passage over the two bridges of the Rhone which separate the quarter of St. Gervais from the remainder of the city, and to retake the gate on the side of Switzerland. They flattered themselves, that the people would retire at the first appearance of a considerable body of soldiers. But it was now too late: the insurgents had already formed a strong barricade, behind which they played off two fire-pumps, filled with boiling water and soap-lees, against the extremities of each bridge; the cross fire of several small arms, which poured from the windows and tops of the adjacent houses, wounded several soldiers and killed the commanding officer; the pavement of the streets was torn up, and carried to the tops of the houses, in order to be hurled down upon the troops, if they forced the barricades and penetrated into the town. Meanwhile the tumult spread itself into the other parts of the city, and was in danger of becoming universal. In this state of affairs the magistrates, finding that they could not quell the insurrection without great effusion of blood, found themselves under the necessity of complying with the demands of the

the infurgents. One of the principal magistrates repaired in person to the quarter of St. Gervais, proclaimed an edict for lowering the price of bread, granted a general amnesty, and released all the infurgents that had been taken into custody. These concessions restored indeed a momentary calm; but produced the very effect they were intended to avoid. The leaders of the disaffected party, now convinced, either of the inability or unwillingness of government to employ a sufficient degree of force, and foreseeing that the moderation which had been just adopted must be continued, held themselves in readiness to take advantage of any opportunity which presented itself of exciting or encouraging another insurrection, in order to effect a change of government, and a recovery of former privileges. Such an opportunity presented itself on the 29th of January, at the interment of a woman who had been casually killed by the discharge of the military in the tumult of the 26th. An immense concourse of people attended the funeral: and the magistrates imprudently ordered the garrison to be ranged and posted with cannon, for the security of the barracks and the city gates against any attempts of the multitude. The populace, believing that the garrison was drawn out in order to recommence hostilities, rose instantly, with one accord directed their fury against the soldiers, drove them from their posts, disarmed them, and took possession of the city gates without opposition.

THIS second tumult convinced the magistrates that all farther opposition was fruitless. For, as the generality of the citizens and burghers, instead of taking an active part in

quelling the tumults, had rather seemed to countenance and encourage them, it was evident, that the loss of their liberties, and the humiliation to which they were reduced by the edict of 1782, had absorbed every sentiment of affection and reverence for an administration, which, however just and reasonable in its measures and conduct, was founded on the principles of despotism, and supported by force. Impressed with these considerations, and finding by experience that a military government was both inexpedient and ineffectual, the chiefs of the aristocratical party suddenly changed the system, by which they had been hitherto guided, and renounced, by a very extraordinary revolution in their sentiments, that line of conduct to which they had before so obstinately adhered. They now felt, that in so small a republic, and with such new objects of ambition, the only permanent recompence of their political labours could be drawn from the esteem, attachment, and confidence of their fellow-citizens; they felt also, that, acting from that principle, the wisest conduct to be adopted on the present occasion was, to change a constitution which had been proved to be essentially defective; and which, while it abridged or annihilated the dearest rights and privileges of a freeborn subject, was ineffectual in maintaining itself by the usual companion of despotism, the terror of a military force. When, therefore, the Solicitor-General, in the name of the citizens and burghers, solicited the recovery of their antient liberties, the permission of bearing arms, the re-establishment of the militia, and of their circles or political clubs, the removal of the garrison from the barracks, and the recall of the Representatives, who were banished in 1782; such moderate demands

demands were received with complacency and even satisfaction.

THE two parties, fatigued with past dissensions, and anxious to re-unite in the common cause, consented to sacrifice something of their respective claims, and to use the power reserved to them in 1782, by the guaranties, of amending and changing the laws, by a majority of three-fourths. The preliminaries were settled without difficulty; a committee was appointed to revise and amend the edict of 1782; the new edict of pacification, under the title of *Modifications à l'Edit de 1782*, was approved by the Senate, Great Council, and General Council. Such was the almost general unanimity with which this business was transacted, that in the assembly of the General Council which met on the 10th of February, the *modifications* were carried by 1321 suffrages against 52. The publication of the new edict was followed by the loudest acclamations and general rejoicings, and confirmed by the three guaranties.

THE edict of 1782 is valid in all the articles which are not repealed or amended by the present *modifications*; or, to use the words of the present amendments, "The edict of the 21st of November 1782, with the modifications introduced by the present edict, and the political code published on the 13th of June 1783, shall be the fundamental law of the state, and shall form the complete collection of its political statutes." The constitution is now wisely modelled into a mean between the too popular form established in 1768, and the too aristocratical form established in 1782. The magistrates

magistrates have consented to repeal the most obnoxious articles in the edict of 1782; which may be principally reduced to the following heads:

1. THE garrison is subject, as before the edict of 1782, to the orders of the Senate, of the Syndic of the Guard, and of the members of the Great Council; and is to be no longer quartered in barracks. The garrison is to be gradually reduced to 600 men; but to be increased to 720, at the will of the Great Council. The officers are to be chosen by the Great Council, from the citizens, burghers, and natives.
2. The militia to be re-embodied, and the military exercises to be renewed. A regiment of volunteers to be formed from the citizens, burghers, natives, and inhabitants, under the orders of the Senate and Syndic of the Guard.
3. All citizens, burghers, natives, inhabitants, and subjects, are permitted to bear arms; all other persons dwelling in the city are prohibited from carrying fire-arms without permission.
4. The circles, or political clubs, are re-established; but are forbidden to deliberate or vote on the affairs of state or the operations of government.
5. Some additional powers are granted to the thirty-six adjuncts, which increase their importance, and consequently the weight of their representations.
6. All persons banished by the edict of 1782 are to be recalled, if the consent of France, Berne, and Zurich can be obtained; and those who were deprived of their burghership, on account of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the government established in 1782, are to be reinstated in their rights.

IN return for these concessions on the part of the magistrates, the popular party consent to the articles in the edict of 1782, which abolished the right of re-election, and transferred the right of representation to the thirty-six adjuncts. They have acted wisely in renouncing the right of re-election, that species of ostracism, and source of so much jealousy and suspicion, which principally occasioned the troubles that preceded the revolution of 1782. They have no less prudently consented to abolish the right of representation, as it was vested, before the edict, in every citizen and burgher. The use, or rather the abuse, of this right, occasioned frequent tumults and seditions, by the promiscuous assembling of a large number without order; and it was found to be a dangerous expedient to employ a multitude as an engine for political purposes.

By the edict of 1782 it was stipulated, in favour of the natives, that during the term of ten years, five natives, and after the expiration of the said term, three natives, should be annually chosen burghers. On the present occasion a farther clause was added in their favour; that the burghership should be conferred on all natives of the fourth generation, when they shall have attained their proper age.

TIME can only discover whether the present form of government will be more permanent than the former constitution; or whether a few years may not bring about another revolution. It bears, however, strong marks and characters of permanency, if we may augur from the present temper and disposition of the parties. The alterations

are

are just, reasonable, and even necessary. It is the first time that all the orders of the state freely, and as it were unanimously, consented, and that scarcely the least disaffection or murmurs have followed. The revolution of 1768 was the triumph of the popular over the aristocratical party; and of 1782, the still greater triumph of the aristocratical over the popular party. But the present change of the government was accompanied and followed by the triumph of neither party. It was formed by the coalition of both; it was the general sense of the whole republic united, in order to repeal what experience had shewn to be defective and inconsistent with republican freedom in the edict of 1782; and to retain what experience had shewn to be expedient and analogous to the spirit and principles of the constitution.

THE pacification was instantly followed by marks of cordiality and attention, between the individuals of two parties, never before experienced. The sons of the principal Negatives have frequented the circles of the burghers; the magistrates, who could not be reproached with any abuse of their power since the edict of 1782, obtained the confidence of the people from the moment that they renounced the support of a foreign garrison quartered in barracks, and expressed their resolution of entrusting the preservation of the state, to the citizens, burghers, and natives.

No monument of that military force, so odious and yet so useless, will remain. The barracks of the town-house are already evacuated, and will be converted into a public library; the new barracks, built at an enormous expence, and
more

more calculated for the garrison of a powerful and despotic kingdom than for a small and free commonwealth, will form a building for the university. The reformation of the studies, which have scarcely received any alteration since the time of Calvin, is now in agitation. In a word, all things seem at present to conspire for the general good; and it is to be hoped that both parties, shocked at the recollection of past troubles, will continue on as friendly terms as the jealous nature of a free constitution will admit, and not exhibit any more civil dissensions of such notoriety as to endanger the ruin of the republic; dissensions which have been hitherto, perhaps, almost unavoidable, but which, if renewed in future, will stamp indelible disgrace on the Genevans, as a restless and discontented people.

LETTER 67.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

HAVING, in the course of my former letters, communicated to you such observations as occurred to me during my tour through Switzerland, concerning the laws, government, and situation of each canton in particular; I will now lay before you a few concluding remarks, in relation to the state of that country in general.

No part of Europe contains, within the same compass, so many independent commonwealths, and such a variety of different governments, as are collected together in this remarkable and delightful country: yet, with such wisdom was the Helvetic union composed, and so little have the Swiss, of late years, been actuated with the spirit of conquest, that since the firm and complete establishment of their general confederacy, they have seldom found occasion to employ their arms against a foreign enemy; and have been troubled with no civil commotions that were not soon happily terminated. Perhaps there is not a similar instance in antient or modern history, of a warlike people, divided into little independent republics, closely bordering upon each other, and occasionally interfering in their respective interests, having continued, during so long a period, in an almost uninterrupted state of tranquillity. And thus, while the several neighbouring kingdoms suffer, by turns, all the horrors

horrors of war, this favoured nation enjoys the felicity of looking down with security upon the various tempests that shake the world around them.

BUT the happiness of a long peace, has neither broken the spirit, nor enervated the arm of the Swiss. The youth are diligently trained to martial exercises, such as running, wrestling, and shooting with the cross-bow and the musket; a considerable number of well-disciplined troops are always employed in foreign services; and the whole people are enrolled, and regularly exercised in their respective militia. By these means they are capable of collecting a very respectable body of forces, which would prove formidable to any enemy who should invade their country, or attack their liberties. Thus, while most of the other states upon the continent are tending towards a military government, Switzerland alone has no standing armies; and yet, from the nature of its situation, from its particular alliances, and from the policy of its internal government, is more secure from invasion than any other European power.

THE felicity of Switzerland, however, does not consist merely in this peculiar exemption from the burdens and miseries of war; as there is no country in which happiness and content more universally prevail among the people. For, whether the government is aristocratical, democratical, or mixed; a general spirit of liberty pervades and actuates the several constitutions: even the oligarchical states, which are usually the most tyrannical, are here peculiarly mild;

and the property of the subject is in general securely guarded against every kind of violation.

BUT one general defect prevails in the criminal jurisprudence of the country. For although the Caroline code, as it is styled, or the code of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, forms in each of the republics the principal basis of their penal laws, with particular modifications and additions in different districts; yet much too great a latitude is allowed to the respective judges, who are less governed in their determinations by this code, or any other written law, than by the common principles of equity. How far long experience may have justified the prudence of trusting them with this extraordinary privilege, or how far the severity of the Caroline code renders it necessary, I cannot say; but discretionary powers of this kind, are undoubtedly liable to the most alarming abuse, and can never, without the greatest hazard, be committed to the hands of the magistrate.

UPON this occasion, I cannot forbear reflecting on the superior wisdom of our most invaluable constitution; and, indeed, it is impossible for an Englishman to observe the governments of other countries, without becoming a warmer and more affectionate admirer of his own. In England, the life and liberty of the subject does not depend upon the arbitrary decision of his judge, but is secured by express laws, from which no magistrate can depart with impunity. This guarded precision, it is true, may occasionally be attended with some inconveniences; but they are overbalanced

lanced by advantages of so much greater weight, as to be scarcely perceptible in the scales of justice. I do not mean to throw any imputation upon the officers of criminal jurisdiction in Switzerland: as far as I could observe, they administer justice with an impartial and equitable hand.

I REMARKED, with peculiar satisfaction, the excellent state of the prisons, and the humane precautions which the several legislatures have adopted in relation to felons: a circumstance that struck me the more forcibly, as the contrary is but too visible in England. In Switzerland, the criminals are confined in wholesome and separate wards; and instead of languishing in prison, to the great injury of their health, or total waste of their little remnant of money, are almost immediately brought to trial. In England, an accused person may be confined six months, or more, before his fate is determined: and if he is proved innocent, and should be in low circumstances; the loss of his time, together with the expences of the jail-fees, may probably occasion his utter ruin; while his morals are in no less danger, by being compelled to associate with a set of abandoned wretches, lost to all sense of shame, and encouraging each other in their common profligacy. How much is it to be regretted, that, while our code of criminal jurisprudence is in general formed upon principles, which distinguish us with honour among the nations of Europe; that our courts of justice are thrown open to the view of all the world; and that we enjoy the inestimable and almost peculiar privilege of being tried by our equals; how much (I cannot forbear repeating) is it to be lamented, that the same equitable and humane
spirit

spirit should be found wanting in so important an article of our penal laws ! For a more particular account of the prisons in Switzerland, I would refer you to my friend Mr. Howard's publication * on the subject. In this work the benevolent author has given many melancholy instances, that the English jails are much inferior to foreign prisons in cleanliness and good government. He must, however, feel the most sensible satisfaction in finding, that his labours have already produced several advantageous regulations, particularly concerning the fees of prisoners who shall be acquitted, and the prevention of the jail distemper. And although much still remains to be effected, yet it may justly be hoped, that the attention of the British Senate will be effectually fixed upon an object so highly deserving the care of every wise and humane legislature.

It is a matter of astonishment, as well as of concern, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are so well understood, and so generally adopted as in Switzerland, that the trial by torture is not yet abolished : for, in some particular cases, the suspected criminal is still put to the rack. The inefficacy, no less than the inhumanity, of endeavouring to extort the truth by the several horrid instruments which too ingenious cruelty has devised for that purpose, has been so often exposed by the ablest writers, that it would be equally impertinent and superfluous to trouble you with any farther reflections upon the subject : and, indeed, the whole strength of the several

* The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, &c. &c. Third edition, 1784. And an account of some foreign prisons.

arguments urged upon this occasion, is comprised in the very just and pointed observation of the admirable la Bruyere, that *la question est une invention merveilleuse & tout-à-fait sûre, pour perdre un innocent qui a la complexion foible, & sauver un coupable qui est né robuste* *. I cannot, however, but add, in justice to the Swifts, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture; but arguments of reason, and sentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilised and enlightened country, to avail little against inveterate custom and long-confirmed prejudices †.

DURING my subsequent expeditions into Switzerland in 1785 and 1786, I was extremely happy to find, that the absurdity as well as inhumanity of torture was more generally admitted. It has long been suppressed in Geneva; in many of

* Caracteres, Vol. ii. p. 203.

† Criminal justice is here, as in the greatest part of Europe, administered agreeably to the rules of the civil law. According to the maxims of that code, the criminal's confession is absolutely requisite for the infliction of capital punishment; and consequently, all those nations, which have not established a new code of criminal jurisprudence, retain the use of torture.

The present king of Prussia set the example, in Germany, of abolishing this inhuman practice; but few, perhaps, are apprised, that the first hint of this reformation was suggested to him by reading the History of England. For, one of the principal arguments in support of this method of extorting confession, being, that it affords the

best means of discovering plots against government; the sagacious monarch remarked, that the British annals fully confute the fallacy of that reasoning. Few kingdoms, he observed, had abounded more in conspiracies and rebellions than England; and yet the leaders and abettors had been more successfully traced and discovered, without the use of torture, than in any country where it was practised. "From thence," added this wise politician, "I saw the absurdity of torture, and abolished it accordingly."

This anecdote, which I received from very respectable authority, bears the most honourable testimony to the efficacy as well as the mildness of our penal laws, and to the superior excellency of the process observed in our courts of criminal justice.

the aristocratical cantons it is virtually, though not formally, abandoned; and, as I have before had occasion to observe *, its public abolition in Berne forms a distinguished æra in the history of Swiss jurisprudence, and, it is to be hoped, is the prelude to its total difuse throughout Switzerland.

LEARNING is less generally diffused among the catholic than the protestant states: but in both a man of letters will find abundant opportunities of gratifying his researches and improving his knowledge. To the natural philosopher, Switzerland will afford an inexhaustible source of entertainment and information, as well from the great variety of physical curiosities so abundantly spread over the country, as from the considerable number of persons eminently skilled in that branch of science. Indeed in every town, and almost in every village, the curious traveller will meet with collections worthy of his attention.

WITH respect to agriculture; there are, perhaps, few countries, wherein the advantageous effects of unwearied and persevering industry are more remarkably conspicuous. In passing over the mountainous parts of Switzerland, I was struck with admiration and astonishment, to observe rocks, that were formerly barren, now planted with vines, or abounding in rich pasture; and at marking the traces of the plough along the sides of the steepest declivities. In a word, the inhabitants seem to have surmounted every obstruction of soil, situation, and climate; and to have spread

* Letter 56.

fertility over various spots, which nature seemed to have consigned to everlasting barrenness. In fine, a general simplicity of manners, an open and unaffected frankness, together with an invincible spirit of freedom, may justly be mentioned, in the number of those peculiar qualities which dignify the public character of this people; and distinguish them with honour among the nations of Europe.

I HAVE now laid before you the principal observations which occurred to me in my journey through Switzerland: happy! if they may in any respect have contributed to your information or amusement. They were originally intended merely as a private memorial of friendship; but I have an additional satisfaction in this opportunity of publicly testifying the sincere esteem and regard with which

I am,

DEAR SIR,

Your very affectionate,

and obliged Friend,

WILLIAM COXE.

[163]

T R A V E L S

IN THE

COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS.

Y 2

EACH of the three Leagues, which form by their union the Republic of the Grisons, is divided into a certain number of Districts, called in Romanish *Dratturas Magnas*, in German *Hochgerichts*; which may be translated High Jurisdictions. These districts are composed of one, two, or more small Commonwealths, or Communities. As this complicated intermixture of different communities frequently creates much confusion, in the geographical and political accounts of this Country, I have prefixed a TABLE of the General Division of each League into HIGH JURISDICTIONS, with their Subdivisions into COMMUNITIES.

The Grey League is divided into eight High Jurisdictions, which are subdivided in the following manner into twenty-seven Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	I. Difentis -	Communities.	1 { Difentis - -	1	Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.
			2 { Tavetch - -	1	
	II. Valley of Lugnetz -		3 & 4 { Lugnetz - -	2	
			5 { Wals - -	1	
	III. Grub - -		6 & 7 { Ilantz and the neighbouring districts - -	2	
			8 { Schlowis - -	1	
			9 { Tenna - -	1	
	IV. Waltenzburg		10 { Waltenzburg - -	1	
			11 { Lax - -	1	
			12 { Oberfax - -	1	
	V. Flims - -		13 { Flims - -	1	
			14 & 15 { Retzuns and Embs - -	2	
			16 { Trins and Tamins - -	1	
	VI. Rheinwald and Schams		17 & 18 { Valley of Rheinwald - -	2	
			19 & 20 { Valley of Schams - -	2	
	VII. Heunzenberg and Tufis		21 { Tufis and Catzis - -	1	
			22 { Heunzenberg - -	1	
			23 { Saffien - -	1	
			24 { Cepina - -	1	
	VIII. Mafox - -		25 { Valley of Mafox - -	1	
			26 { Ruffe - -	1	
			27 { Calanca - -	1	

The League of God's House is divided into eleven High Jurisdictions, and comprehends twenty-one Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	I. Coire - -	Communities.	1 { Coire - - -	2	Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.
	II. Pregalia -		2 { Sopra Porta - - -	1	
			3 { Sotto Porta - - -	1	
	III. Upper Engadina - -		4 { Sopra Fontana Merla	1	
			5 { Sotto Fontana Merla	1	
	IV. Lower Engadina - -		6 { Sopra Tasma - - -	1	
			7 { Sotto Tasma - - -	1	
	V. Bivio or Stalla		8 { Bivio & Marmorara -	1	
			9 { Avers - - -	1	
			10 { Remus, Schlins, and Samun - - -	1	
	VI. Ortenstein		11 { Ortenstein - - -	1	
			12 { Furstenau - - -	1	
	VII. Obervats -		13 { Obervats - - -	1	
			14 { Breguns - - -	1	
	VIII. Oberhafstein		15 { Tinzen and Reamp -	1	
			16 { Tiefen Casten - -	1	
	IX. Puschiamo -		17 & 18 { Valley of Puschiamo	2	
	X. Munster -		19 { Valley of Munster -	1	
	XI. Four Villages		20 { Sitzers, Igis, Trims -	1	
			21 { Unter Vatz - -	1	
				22	

The

The League of Ten Jurisdictions is divided into seven High Jurisdictions, and comprises eleven Jurisdictions or Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	I. Davos - -	Communities.	1 { District of Davos - -	2
	II. Kloster - -		2 { Kloster - - -	2
	III. Castels - -		3 { Lutfein - - -	1
			4 { Jenats and Furna - -	1
	IV. Schiers - -		5 { Schiers - - -	1
			6 { Seewis - - -	1
	V. Mayenfield -		7 { Mayenfield and } Malans - - }	2
	VI. Belfort or Al- venew and Churwalden		8 { Alvenew - - -	1
			9 { Churwalden - - -	1
	VII. Valley of Schalffic -		10 { St. Peter, &c. - -	1
			11 { Longwisen - - -	1
Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.				

14

Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.

Thus the Diet, including the three chiefs, consists of sixty-six voices.

LETTER

LETTER 68.

COMO—MENDRISIO—LAKE OF COMO—PLINIANA—
FORT OF FUENTES—LAGHETTO DI CHIAVENNA—
ENTRANCE INTO THE COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS.

Chiavenna, July 21st 1779.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE I travelled over part of Switzerland, it has been my desire to make a tour through the remainder of that country, particularly to visit the Grisons; and, being now on my return to England, I shall take this opportunity of indulging my curiosity, and propose to myself the satisfaction of continuing to send you, on this as on the former occasion, all the information I am able to procure.

I QUITTED Milan last week, and proceeded through a gently rising country, well wooded and fertile in corn and vines, to Como. This town being the birth-place of Pliny the younger, the inhabitants have placed his statue in a niche on the outside of the church, with a Latin inscription bearing the date of 1499. I need not remind you, with how much rapture and enthusiasm Pliny mentions the delightful situation of his native town, and the romantic scenery of the environs, in those letters, of which you have given to the public so accurate and elegant a translation.

Como is indeed most pleasantly situated, in a narrow vale, enclosed by fertile hills, upon the southern extremity of the beautiful lake which bears the same name. The town is surrounded by a wall defended with picturesque towers, and backed by a conical eminence, on which stand the ruins of an ancient castle. The houses are neatly built of stone; and the cathedral is a handsome edifice of white marble, hewn from the neighbouring quarries. The inhabitants have established several manufactures of cotton and silk, and carry on some trade with the Grisons.

FROM Como I made an excursion to Mendrisio, one of the Italian bailliages belonging to the * twelve cantons of Switzerland. These bailliages formed part of the Milanese, and in 1512 were ceded to the cantons by Maximilian Sforza, who was raised to the ducal throne by the Swiss, after they had expelled the troops of Louis the Twelfth, and taken possession of the duchy. Francis the first, successor of Louis, having recovered the Milanese, and secured his conquest by the victory of Marignano, purchased the friendship of the Swiss by confirming their right to the ceded territory; a right which the subsequent dukes of Milan have been too prudent to dispute.

MENDRISIO and Balerna is one of the smallest of these transalpine bailliages: the bailif or governor is appointed

* Appenzel is excluded from the co-regency because the cession was made in 1512, the year before that republic was admitted into the Helvetic confederacy. Beside Mendrisio and Balerna, the other Italian bailliages are Locarno, Lugano, and Val-Maggia. Uri, Schwetz, and Unterwalden, possess three bailliages, Bellinzona, Riviera, and Val-Brenna, which were equally dismembered from the Milanese.

successively

ſucceſſively by each of the twelve cantons, and remains in office two years. He is ſupreme judge in * criminal affairs without appeal: a power too great to be entrusted to a ſtranger, commonly ignorant of the laws, and intereſted to increaſe his revenue. In civil cauſes an appeal lies to the ſyndicate of Switzerland. The inhabitants enjoy conſiderable privileges, civil, eccleſiaſtical, and commercial. The diſtrict is extremely fertile in vines, corn, and paſtorage; and yields a great quantity of excellent filk.

UPON my return to Como, I embarked upon the lake. The banks near the town are richly wooded, and ſtudded with country houſes and ſmall villages, which lie upon the gentle acclivities near the margin of the water. At firſt the lake is ſcarcely a quarter of a mile broad, but it widened as we turned round a neck of land upon which is ſituated the ſmall village of Turnio. The neighbourhood of Turnio, and the diſtricts bordering the lake of Como, ſupply, for the moſt part, thoſe Italian emigrants who wander through Europe vending barometers and thermometers; of whom numbers annually reſort to England.

AFTER about an hour's rowing we came to Pliniana, remarkable for a ſingular fountain, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the ſame ſtate as deſcribed by Pliny. Pliniana, a villa belonging to a Milaneſe nobleman, is conſtructed upon the edge of the water, in a moſt romantic ſituation, backed by

* In caſe of capital puniſhment, he is obliged to conſult the ſecretary, notary, and the other officers of the diſtrict; but as they have no vote, his power is ſupreme.

rocks covered with trees and pasture. The master of the house received me with much civility and politeness, and kindly accompanied me to the fountain. It is a spring, which bursts from the rock close to the house, and falls in natural cascades into the lake. I examined some of the phænomena alluded to in the following description, and received the others from the gentleman himself, who had repeatedly made them the subject of his observation. The spring ebbs and flows three times a day: this increase and decrease is regular, excepting in bad weather. In the late season, which has been remarkably fair, its changes were more visible than usual. From being almost dry, it gradually rises, until it forms a considerable stream; and then as gradually subsides, till the period of its swell returns. I saw it in its flow, and measured its increase by placing stones at different distances, all of which it reached and covered in a small space of time. The original passage, in which Pliny describes the ebb and flow of this spring, is written upon the wall of an adjoining apartment.

Fons oritur in monte, per saxa decurrit, excipitur cœnatiunculâ manu factâ; ibi paululùm retentus in Larium lacum decidit. Hujus mira natura: ter in die statis auctibus ac diminutionibus crescit, decrescitque. Cernitur id palam, & cum summâ voluptate deprehenditur, juxtâ recumbis, et vescêris: atque etiam ex ipso fonte (nam est frigidissimus) potas: interim ille certis dimensisque momentis vel subtrahitur vel adsurgit, annulum seu quid aliud ponis in sicco, alluitur sensim, ac novissimè aperitur: detegitur rursûs paulatimque deferitur:

deseritur: si diutius observes utrumque iterum ac tertio videas.*

HAVING gratified my curiosity at Pliniana, I embarked, and continued to Clarice, where I passed the night. The weather, which has lately been uncommonly sultry, is suddenly changed; and this morning a violent thunder-storm overtook us upon the lake. The water being so much agitated, that we could not proceed without danger, we landed at a small village upon the western side of the lake, until the storm should subside. The navigation of these lakes, which are enclosed between the mountains, is occasionally dangerous, according to Virgil's description of the Benacus, or Lago di Guarda:

Tu, Lari maxime, tuque

Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.

Travellers who have visited these parts in calm weather are apt to consider such expressions as exaggerated; but I am convinced, from the storm to which I have just been witness, that such a description is consonant to truth.

* *Plin. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. xxx.*—"There
 " is a spring which rises in a neighbouring
 " mountain, and running among the rocks
 " is received into a little banquetting-room,
 " from whence, after the force of its cur-
 " rent is a little restrained, it falls into the
 " Larian lake. The nature of this spring
 " is extremely surprizing; it ebbs and flows
 " regularly three times a day. The in-
 " crease and decrease is plainly visible, and
 " very entertaining to observe. You sit
 " down by the side of the fountain, and whilst
 " you are taking a repast and drinking its
 " water, which is extremely cool, you see
 " it gradually rise and fall. If you place a
 " ring, or any thing else at the bottom
 " when it is dry, the stream reaches it by
 " degrees till it is entirely covered, and
 " then again gently retires from it; and if
 " you wait you may see it thus advance
 " and recede three times successively."

Melmoth's Translation.

THE

THE lake of Como is about thirty-six miles in length, in general from two to three miles broad, and four at the widest part, where it is divided into two branches. The great branch leads directly to Como; and the smaller branch, called the lake of Lecco, discharges the Adda, and communicates, by means of that river and the canals* of the Adda and the Canale Vecchio, with Milan. The borders are high hills covered with vines, Spanish chestnut, walnut, and almond trees, and dotted with numerous villages and small towns. The hills which bound the lake rise gradually higher and higher, from those which encircle Como to the crags which tower near its upper extremity.

THE storm at length subsiding, I embarked, and proceeded to Bellano, whose streets are so narrow as scarcely to admit the smallest cart. It is situated at the foot of a lofty precipice, rent from top to bottom by a chasm, through which a furious torrent forces its way. A bridge is thrown across the chasm, from whence the spectator looks down with terror into a gulph scarcely inferior in depth to that at the Panton-bruck †, in the canton of Glarus; and an aqueduct is conducted along the precipitous sides of the rock. I again embarked, and proceeding to Domasio, at Bellano waited upon the governor, in order to obtain his permission to visit the Fort of Fuentes: my request being readily complied with, I crossed the lake, accompanied by a soldier from Domasio, and landed at Collico.

* See Letter 88.

† See Letter 6.



A. Smith del.

W. H. Smith fecit.

View of Lough Linn, near Dublin.

Designed as the title design for the "Lough Linn" series.

A LITTLE above Domasio, on both sides of the lake, begins the *malaria*, or unwholesome air. In these parts the borders of the lake are no longer abrupt hills rising boldly from the edge of the water; but a flat-swamp, which was formerly covered with water. The inhabitants are subject to intermitting fevers; on which account, during the heats of summer, when the malignity of the atmosphere is at its height, the greatest part of the inhabitants quit the plain, and retire to the neighbouring mountains. We found Collico and its neighbourhood almost entirely deserted; the cottages were shut up; and, had it not been for the appearance of a straggling man and woman, we should have concluded this part of the country to have been quite uninhabited. After walking about two miles from Collico, we came to the bottom of the rock, upon which stands the Fort of Fuentes. But before we ascend, let me detain you a moment with a short history of this fort, which at the beginning of the last century was so much celebrated in the annals of Europe.

ONE of the articles in a treaty between Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Grisons, expressly stipulating that no fort should be constructed in the district of *Piantedio*, was confirmed by the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, which succeeded Charles the Fifth in the possession of the Milanese. Notwithstanding, however, this agreement, when the religious disputes, occasioned by the introduction of the reformed religion into the Valteline, had created a jealousy between the House of Austria and the Grisons, and affairs seemed tending to a rupture; the count de Fuentes, governor of Milan, laid, in 1603, the foundation
of

of the fort, which he called after his own name, and saw it completed in 1606. From this place, situated in the *Pian-tedio*, he introduced troops into the Valteline, and supported the inhabitants in their hostilities against the Grisons. Henry the Fourth of France, alluding to the construction and situation of this fort upon the borders of Italy, and near the confines of the Grisons, used to say, *Il veut du même nœud ferrer la gorge de l'Italie et les pieds aux Grisons* *.

IF you are not fatigued with this preliminary account, we will now mount to the fort, and take a view of its present state. It is built upon an insulated rock, about a mile and a half from the nearest ridge of mountains, and two miles from the lake, so that it completely commands the only great opening which leads into the Valteline, either from the Milanese or the Grisons; a situation of great importance, when the possession of the Valteline was an object of such consequence to the House of Austria. The fortifications, which are only a quarter of a mile in circumference, are constructed with stone, and are very strong. The only buildings are a few ruinous barracks for soldiers, and the governor's house, which is in the most wretched condition. The whole garrison consists of three soldiers, who at the expiration of three days, return to Domasio, and are relieved by an equal number from the same place. The only inhabitants are a peasant and his wife, who have resided there a year, and have been almost constantly afflicted with the ague.

* With the same knot he binds the neck of Italy and the feet of the Grisons.

THE plain below the rock being entirely marshy, and covered with rushes, exhales a pestilential effluvia, which infects the atmosphere, and occasions the unwholesomeness of the fort. The Spaniards were accustomed to style this place, from its peculiar situation, the *yoke* of the Grisons; while the Grisons, in allusion to its bad air, termed it, with more propriety, the *grave* of the Spaniards. The view from the fort is remarkably fine and picturesque. On one side, the rich Valteline, watered by the turbulent Adda; on the other, by the lakes of Como and Chiavenna, beautifully encircled with numerous town villages. The hills which skirt the Valteline and the lake of Como present a variegated landscape of forests, corn-fields, and pastures, finely contrasted, towards the Grisons, by the rugged Rhetian Alps covered with eternal snow.

HAVING taken leave of the three soldiers, and bade adieu to the peasant and his wife, I descended into the plain: the soil of which is fertile, but being subject to frequent inundations, is not capable of constant cultivation. That part which lies between the fort and the lake is so marshy, that although the strait line to the place, where the boat waited for me, scarcely exceeded two miles, yet I was obliged to make a circuit of five before I arrived. In my way, I passed a range of square stones, which form the boundary between the Milanese and the country of the Grisons; on one side of each stone was inscribed *Stato di Milano*, on the other *Grigioni*: they were put up, as the date informed me, in 1763, the year in which the treaty, or the *capitulation* of Milan, was concluded between the Empress of Germany, as sovereign of Milan, and the Grisons. By this treaty the limits of

the two states were finally settled, and several other subjects of dispute were amicably adjusted. I came to the Adda, which, for a short space, makes the line of separation between the Milanese and Grisons, and walked along its banks. Its stream is muddy, and navigable only by rafts. Most of the maps of the lake of Como are erroneous, in representing that lake and the *Laghetto* di Chiavenna as one great piece of water, and the Adda as flowing into the former; whereas the two lakes are distinct, and the Adda joins a small stream which issues from the *Laghetto*, and thus united falls into the lake of Como.

I EMBARKED near Dacio, which is the last village in the Milanese; at which place all boats laden with merchandise are obliged to land, and pay a small duty. Soon afterwards I entered the lake of Chiavenna, which belongs to the Grisons. The views of this lake are extremely wild and magnificent; surrounded as it is with barren rocks, craggy, and rising into spires sprinkled with snow: the bases of those dreadful precipices are lost in the dead and overshadowed water, dangerous on account of its malignant vapours, and affording no shelter, scarcely a landing-place, to the crews of those frail boats, which are caught unwarily in the violent storms to which it is subject. I landed at Riva, which consists of a few scattered cottages and warehouses, the miserable owners whereof are the only inhabitants, and having procured some horses, proceeded to Chiavenna by moon-light. The villages were almost entirely deserted, and the inhabitants withdrawn to the mountains. The people in general are so greatly alarmed at the unwholesome

wholesome state of the air in this season, that the watermen who rowed me from Como, although exceedingly fatigued, went back to Domasio; and exerted all their eloquence to dissuade me from my first intention of remaining in the plain: overcome by their repeated importunities, I pursued my journey to Chiavenna. Indeed, no other proof of the tainted air is requisite than a view of the inhabitants; the few peasants whom I met in the villages, as well near the Fort of Fuentes as in the valley of Chiavenna, were mostly wan and livid. The narrow valley through which I passed from the lake to Chiavenna, is enclosed between the first and lowest chain of the Rhetian Alps; it is watered by the torrent Maira, and produces Turkish wheat, pasturage, chestnuts, and mulberry-trees, together with a great abundance of willows. Near Chiavenna the ascent is rapid, and that town is built in a higher and more wholesome situation.

L E T T E R 69.

PLURS—ITS DESTRUCTION IN THE LAST CENTURY
BY A FALL OF A MOUNTAIN—VALLEY OF PRE-
GALIA.

July 25th.

MY last letter left me at Chiavenna, of which town I defer sending you any description, as I propose returning there in my way to Coire. The morning after my arrival, I rode about four miles, to the spot formerly occupied by the town of Piuro, or Plurs, which was totally overwhelmed by the fall of mount Conto, under which it was built. This terrible catastrophe happened August 25th, 1618.

PLURS was a large and flourishing town, subject, as well as Chiavenna, to the Grisons. Contemporary writers mention, that it contained three churches, many large houses, and a stone bridge over the Maira; and that its population amounted to at least 1500 inhabitants, who carried on no inconsiderable commerce. The valley in which it was situated is very narrow, and the whole town was buried in one undistinguished ruin. A contemporary account relates, that the cloud of dust and rubbish was so great as to cover the heavens like smoke, and even to extend as far as Chiavenna: the inhabitants of Chiavenna, alarmed at this uncommon phenomena, were still more terrified at the disappearance

pearance of the torrent Maira, which ceased to flow by that town for near an hour; its course being stopped by the fallen fragments of rock, until it forced its way over the ruins. This event spread such an universal alarm among the inhabitants, from an apprehension that the torrent had undermined Chiavenna, and would burst out with such fury as to deluge the whole place, that great numbers precipitately fled into the mountains.

I WALKED over the spot where Plurs was built: parts of the antient walls, and the ruins of a country house, which belonged to the Franci, the richest family in the place, are the only remains of its former existence; and these would not be noticed by a passenger. A peasant, who has a cottage close to the ruins, pointed out to me every place, as it had been explained to him by his grandfather. He shewed me where stood the churches and principal houses, the channel through which the river then flowed, and where the bridge was constructed. He informed me, that in digging, several dead bodies had been found; and particularly the bones of a priest, covered with shreds of garments, which indicated that he was employed in divine service when the rock overwhelmed the town. Household utensils are frequently dug up; the other day several corpses were discovered, and on the finger bone of one were a silver and two gold rings. Vineyards, chestnut-trees, and houses, cover the spot where this unfortunate town was once situated. The valley in this part has an oval appearance, and is skirted by a beautiful grove of chestnut-trees; the surrounding mountains are steep and rugged, and from the top of mount Savonne, *l'acqua fragia*, a considerable

able torrent, precipitates itself, at first in a full unbroken stream, and afterwards divides into three separate falls, highly ornamental to the beautiful scenery of the vale.

THE guide conducted me to the house of a gentleman near Chiavenna, in order to see a drawing of Plurs before it was overwhelmed; the ancestors of this person had large possessions, and were the richest family in the town. The master of the house shewed me the picture, and explained to me the situation of the different buildings. He then politely accompanied me through his grounds to a manufacture of stone pots called *Lavezzi*, which are made near Chiavenna, and are much used for kitchen utensils throughout these countries, and some parts of Italy. This manufacture is very antient: Pliny mentions the stone * under the denomination of *Lapis Comensis*, because the pots were sent to Como and there exported. These utensils are made by the following process: the workmen hew from the quarry semicircular blocks of stone, from which, with an instrument resembling that used by turners, they hollow a vessel about a foot in diameter. From the mass which remains, by a similar mode of proceeding, they frame another utensil of inferior dimensions, and continue their operation till they have produced a series of semicircular pots, gradually decreasing to the size of a small basin. From Plurs I continued along the valley of Santa Croce, and entered the country of the Grisons at the small village of Casta Segna, in Pregalia.

* *Lapis Ollaris*.—Pliny's *Lapis Comensis* mica and steatites. When it is first taken is classed by Wallerius among the steatites, from the quarry it is easily cut and turned; by Linnæus among the talcs.—It is opaque, on being exposed to the air it hardens, but unctuous to the touch, and composed of will take no polish.

AT Bondo, which is a small village in the valley of Pregalia, Count de Salis, formerly British envoy to the Grisons, has constructed a large and commodious house, and entirely fitted up in the English taste. It is situated at the extremity of a small plain scarcely half a mile in length, and about four hundred paces broad, bounded on each side by a chain of the Rhetian Alps, whose sides are covered with forests intermixed with luxuriant pasture. The plain is shut in by some rugged rocks, behind which others shoot to an enormous height, crowned with perpetual snow. The little plain produces excellent pasture, barley, rye, vegetables of all sorts, and some fruit-trees. Through it dashes the torrent Maira over broken fragments of rock.

I RAMBLED about the valley of Pregalia and the neighbouring mountains; and observed the domestic œconomy of the peasants. Their chief food is salt meat, rye bread, milk, cheese, polenta, and chestnuts, which are so plentiful at this season of the year, that they make a principal ingredient in all their meals: the most common methods of dressing them are to boil, and serve them up with crumbs of bread; or to grind them to a paste, and then heat them with some milk. The peasants are well clothed. They manufacture linen and coarse cloth at home, every family having a loom, which is worked in the winter season. The finer cloth, which they wear only on Sundays and festivals, is procured from Germany.

THE valley of Pregalia reaches from the Podesteria of Plurs to the confines of Upper Engadina, and contains about 1800 inhabitants: it is a high jurisdiction in the league
of

of God's House, and is divided into the two independent communities of *Sopra* and *Sotto Porta*; so denominated from a wall with an opening called *Porta*, through which the road passes, and which separates the valley into two equal parts. These two communities enjoy a democratical form of government: a short account of which will convey to you some idea of the mode in which the administration of affairs is carried on in these little states.

EACH community has its general assembly, in which the sovereign power is vested; every male at the age of eighteen has a vote: in each of these assemblies the magistrates and representatives to the general diet are chosen by the majority of voices; instructions are given to the representatives; and all appeals from the diet decided in the last resort. For civil causes, the two communities have separate tribunals, composed of the *Landammann*, who is president, and twelve assistants; and an appeal lies from one to the other. For criminal affairs, there is one court of justice, composed of a *Podesta*, and an equal number of judges from each community. The *Podesta* is chosen in the following manner: each community appoints two persons, who nominate nine others; and these nine choose two candidates, who draw lots for the office. The same person is not unfrequently nominated *Podesta* by both parties; and then the lot is cast, to ascertain to which he belongs. This criminal court of justice is always held at Vico Soprano, in *Sopra Porta*. In all delinquencies the punishments are extraordinarily severe, and the remission or alleviation is entirely left to the judges, who generally take a commutation in fines; so that if the criminal is poor, he undergoes the punishment; if rich, he redeems himself by money.

LETTER

L E T T E R 70.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARMOT.

THE Marmot is extremely common in the mountains of Switzerland, and particularly in this part of the Grisons; and, as many erroneous accounts of this sagacious little animal have been given, I shall send you the following extract, selected from a description written in the German tongue, by Dr. Girtaner*; which cannot fail being highly interesting to all, who love to search into the œconomy of nature.

DOCTOR AMSTEIN, of Zitzers, in the country of the Grisons, is the first naturalist who has narrowly inquired into the œconomy of the marmot. Since his description of this animal in professor Schreber's work, he has himself made several new observations, and obtained additional information from Messrs Aporta and Catani, two clergymen of the Grisons.

THE marmot inhabits the highest and most inaccessible mountains; prefers the small narrow valleys, and particularly the western or southern aspect, as the warmest, and

* A French translation of this account is given in Rozier's Journal for 1786.

avoids moist places. On the opening of spring, when he issues from his hole, where he has slept during winter, he descends to the lower regions, where vegetation is forward. In summer he again ascends to the rocky heights, and into solitary caverns. He feeds upon herbs and roots, and particularly on the alpine plantain, mountain spignel, alpine ladies mantle, mountain sorrel, alpine toad-flax, alpine trefoil, and alpine starwort*. When tame, he eats almost every thing except flesh. On drinking, he raises up his head like fowls at every sip, looking on each side with a timorous watchfulness. He drinks but little, to which Dr. Amstein attributes his fatness. He is extremely fond of butter and milk.

At break of day the old marmots come out of their holes and feed; afterwards they bring out their young ones; the latter scamper on all sides, chase each other, sit on their hind feet, and remain in that posture, facing the sun, with an air expressive of satisfaction. They are all particularly fond of warmth, and when they think themselves secure, will bask in the sun for several hours. Before they collect the grass, either for their food, or for their winter habitations, they form themselves into a circle, sitting on their hind legs, and reconnoitre on all sides. On the least alarm, the first gives instantly a shrill cry, which is communicated from one to the other, and they escape without repeating the noise.

* *Plantago alpina*, *Phellandrium mutellina*, *Alchemilla alpina*, *Rumex digynus*, *Antirrhinum alpinum*, *Trifolium alpinum*, *Aster alpinus*.

The chaffeurs, by imitating these successive whistlings, approach so near as to come within shot of them. The marmot has a quick eye, discovers the enemy at a considerable distance, and flies when he is pursued. When apprehensive of being followed, whole families quit their dwellings, and wander from mountain to mountain, although they must again construct their habitations: but when flight is impossible, they defend themselves with spirit against men and dogs, and attack all who approach them with their teeth and claws.

THEY always live together in societies. They have both summer and winter dwellings, which are easily distinguished. The former remain open during the whole year; whereas the latter are closed at the end of September. In the summer dwellings is found dung in great abundance, but no hay: on the contrary, the winter habitations never contain any dung, but much hay. Near the latter is perceived a more considerable quantity of earth, which annually increases according to the size of the dwelling, and the augmentation of the family. In the formation of their dwellings they scoop out the earth with great dexterity and expedition: a small part they throw away, and by beating the remainder close, render the passage very compact and solid. The opening being scarcely more than six or seven inches in diameter, is just large enough to admit the animal. The interior is from eight to twenty feet in length; it consists of a passage, which at about five or six feet from the entrance, divides into two branches: the one leading to a small cavity; the other to the chamber in

which they repose. The passage, and two branches, are always carried in a straight line, unless the intervention of a rock, or any other impediment, obliges them to take another direction. The chamber is round or oval, arched at top, and in its form resembles the shape of an oven. It is from three to seven feet in diameter, being larger or smaller according to the number of the family. It is strewn with hay, in which the marmots lie in a dormant state during the whole winter.

ON retiring to this dwelling about the beginning of October, they carefully close the entrance so as to exclude all air, with a cement of earth mixed with stones and hay. On opening this chamber three weeks after it is closed, the marmots are discovered lying on the hay close to each other, and rolled up like hedge-hogs, without the least appearance of life. Usually from five to sixteen are found together; sometimes, but rarely, two families occupy the same dwelling; and occasionally, but very seldom, one has been discovered alone. If exposed to warmth they awaken. The tame marmots do not sleep during winter; but on the approach of that season, excited by instinct, they collect materials towards constructing their dwellings. The wild marmots occupy their winter habitation in October, and quit it towards the latter end of March or the beginning of April. In removing the cement which closes the opening, they do not push it outwards, but draw it inwards, and probably convey the materials, which would block up the principal passage, into the small cavity. They copulate soon after coming
coming

coming out: in June or July young ones have been observed, about the size of rats. It is probable that they do not eat during their torpid state; for the same quantity of hay is observed both in spring and autumn in their winter habitations, and those which have been dug out in that season are thin and perfectly empty. The flesh of the marmot is eatable, and its skin is used for furs.

LETTER 71.

PASSAGE OF THE MALLOGGIA—LAKE OF SIGLIO—
SELVA PIANA AND ST. MOREZZO—EXPEDITION
TO THE JULIAN COLUMNS—BEVIO.

St. Morezzo, July 31st.

THE road through Pregalia to Coire admits carriages, but is very indifferently paved. I passed through the village Promontogno, then through the Porta, to Stampa, Vico-Soprano, Borgo, Nuovo, and Casaucia. The houses in this valley are of stone, plastered and white-washed; they are not scattered, as in the small cantons of Switzerland; but every half mile a cluster of habitations presents itself.

BEYOND Bondo the country produces no more chestnut-trees, but principally larch and firs; it yields grass, barley, and rye. Near Casaucia is the barren and lofty mountain of Set. I here quitted the high road, which turns towards Coire, and about a mile and a half further the valley terminates, and began to mount a very steep ascent, by the side of the torrent Maira, which rushes amidst a forest of firs; it descends from the glacier of the Malin, a ridge of Alps separating the Valteline from the country of the Grisons. A little further I reached the top of the Malloggia, and observed the Orlenga, a glistening torrent, falling from the Lungin mountain, and forming the remotest source of the Inn. The Malloggia is the point of partition, dividing the waters
which

which run towards the Black Sea, from those which flow into the Adriatic. The tops of the circumjacent mountains are mostly rugged, and covered with snow: lower down they are enlivened with under-wood, firs, and pasture.

I STOPPED at a single house, a kind of inn, where travellers are accommodated. The landlord and his family speak an Italian jargon, similar to the Milanese dialect, which is common in Pregalia. The next place is Siglio in Upper Engadina, where Romansh is the general tongue. On inquiring whether it was similar to the Italian spoken in Pregalia, the landlord informed me, that the two languages are totally different; and the servant assured me, that she could scarcely comprehend a word which was uttered by the inhabitants of Siglio. From Malloggia I descended, and crossed the Orlenga, and continued along the banks of the lake of Siglio. The way was bad and craggy until I came to the confines of Engadina, where an excellent road commenced.

THE small lake of Siglio is about five miles in circumference, and is finely situated between high perpendicular rocks. It takes its name from Siglio, which we left at a little distance on our right. I crossed the Inn soon after it issues from the lake, and pursued my course over the dry bed of the torrent Fait, which formerly flowed into the Inn; but has lately changed its course, and now falls into the lake of the Selva Piana. Nothing is more common than for these torrents to shift their channels; and I could observe evident traces, that some of them had at former periods
watered

watered the small plain between the lakes of Siglio and Selva Piana. The village of that name stands pleasantly upon a small rising ground; and the lake of Selva Piana, though much smaller than that of Siglio, far surpasses it in the beauty of its banks, which are fringed with hanging groves of fir and larch. From this lake the Inn issues in a larger stream, falls again at a little distance into the lake of St. Morezzo; from whence it dashes through a deep rocky channel into the plain of Celerina, where it runs in a more tranquil current. These little plains, or valleys, are broader and longer than that of Bondo, and produce as much grass, which is now mowing.

AT Selva Piana, I attempted to converse with some of the inhabitants, but could scarcely comprehend them. I have been endeavouring also to talk with the inhabitants of this place. Many speak Italian, as it is much frequented by strangers for the sake of the waters; but the greatest part could talk nothing but Romansh. This morning being Sunday I attended divine service; the clergyman preached in the language of the country, and I could understand little more than that the text was in the 22d chapter of St. Luke. The sermon, which is the principal part of the service, was about an hour long; the prayers are very short; the girls sung psalms; some of them had delightful voices, and performed with great taste and propriety: a proof of their neighbourhood to Italy.

ST. MOREZZO, or as it is most commonly called St. Maurice, stands agreeably upon the side of an hill, and overlooks
a small

a small lake, which lies in the bosom of the mountains, and is bounded by rising banks, studded with wood and pasture. It is a village in Upper Engadina, and is remarkable for a plentiful spring of mineral water, much esteemed for its efficacy in curing several disorders. It issues from the ground, about the distance of half a mile on the other side of the river Inn; is a very plentiful source, and strongly impregnated with vitriol. Upon plunging Reaumur's thermometer into the source, it sunk from 12 to $4\frac{1}{2}$. I was informed that a gentleman had lately ascertained, from repeated observations, that the thermometer varied according to the greater or less degree of rain; but that upon an average the mercury generally stood between 4 and 7.

I AM lodged in one of the boarding houses, which abound in this place, for the accommodation of persons who drink the waters. The company at table consist, at present, of only two merchants of Appenzel, who are established at Genoa, and a clergyman of Lower Engadina. As I soon discovered the clergyman to be an intelligent man, I held frequent conversation with him upon the Romanish tongue; but defer enlarging upon that subject until I shall have gained further information. I also talked with him upon the state of religion among the reformed part of the Grisons, and particularly in relation to the *Pietists*, a sect which has lately made great progress in these parts. From the account given by the clergyman, who evidently leaned towards their opinions, these Pietists appear similar to our Methodists: for instance, they exalt faith above good works, affect to be uncommonly rigid and pious, condemn all diver-

fions, card-playing, and assemblies, as criminal; frequently despair of their salvation, fancy visions, enjoy supernatural inward illuminations, and employ so much time in prayer as to neglect their ordinary business. The clergymen of this sect are for the most part ignorant and superficial, are vehemently vociferous in the pulpit, thunder out reprobation, and expatiate upon justification, without explaining the methods of avoiding the one, and of obtaining the other. These preachers, notwithstanding their affectation of a total indifference to worldly matters, do not confine their views merely to theological speculations, but pay a considerable degree of attention to political affairs: and as, by means of their authority in religious concerns, they possess a considerable influence over the votes of their parishioners, they are on that account much caressed and countenanced by several leading persons among the Grisons. In these parts the dress of the women is singular, and not unbecoming: it consists of a black or blue jacket with red sleeves, striped blue and white petticoats, a small black velvet cap trimmed with gold or silver lace, with a black or white lace border hanging over the forehead.

I MADE an excursion to the Julian Columns, of which Scheuzer has given a description and an engraving in his *Itinera Alpina*: he supposes them to have been erected by Julius Cæsar, in order to mark the limits of his conquests in these parts; and asserts that, *Ne plus ultra*, and *Omitto Rhetos indomitos*, are inscribed upon them. From St. Morezzo I went to Selva Piana, then turned up a path which leads to the Julian Alps, and after continuing about two hours
over

over rugged rocks, reached the Julian columns, if they deserve so dignified an appellation. They are of a circular shape, somewhat similar to the Roman mile-stones, placed at the distance of about forty-feet from each other. Their height above the ground is about four feet, and they seem to be buried about a foot, or scarcely so much: their circumference is about five feet. They have neither pedestals nor capitals, and are flattish at top, with a small round hole in the middle about four inches diameter and six deep. They were formed by art, but in the rudest manner. I examined, with great attention, if I could observe the inscriptions of *Ne plus ultra*, and *Omitto Rbetos indomitos*, but I could not discover the smallest traces of any letters. We have no reason therefore to conclude, that these pillars were erected by Julius Cæsar in order to ascertain the boundary of his conquests, or at least we have no proofs upon which we can depend for the truth of this popular story: I do not however regret, that I made the excursion; for although my curiosity has been disappointed in a view of the pillars, yet it has been gratified in visiting these wild and romantic alps. The Julian Alps produce much pasture, but no wood, which is a proof of their great elevation. Near the stones just now described is a piece of water called the Julian lake: it is supplied from a glacier on a superincumbent mountain, and sends forth a torrent that descends to Selva Piana, and falls into the lake of that name: it may be considered as a source of the Inn.

I soon afterwards stopped at a cottage, the only house in the whole extent of these Alps: it is occupied only during summer; the tenants every night house the cattle that graze

upon these mountains, and make large quantities of butter and cheese. Having taken a refreshing bowl of thick cream, I began my descent, and observed numerous small streams; some issuing from rocks, others falling from the glaciers, and forming the first sources of the Little Rhine. The path was so steep and craggy, that I gave my horse to the guide, and preferred walking. About five miles from the pillars, I arrived at Bevio, a small village upon the Little Rhine, in the high road which leads to Coire. Every one being employed in hay-making, I could not gain admittance into the inn: some friars, however, offered me their house and dinner, and prevented me from returning to the cottage upon the Julian Alps. On questioning these friars concerning the constitution of the Republic of Bevio; they informed me, that Bevio and Valmorara form one community, governed by eleven magistrates, though the number of voters who appoint these magistrates scarcely exceeds forty: the chief is called *Ministrale*, and is confirmed every year; for which act of politeness each voter annually receives a florin. About one-third of the merchandise from Como to Coire passes by Bevio, but the greatest part is sent by Splugen. After dinner I returned over the Julian Alps to St. Morezzo.

L E T T E R 72.

UPPER ENGADINA—BEVER—ZUTZ—SCAMPF.

Zutz, August 2d.

THE ride from St. Morezzo to Zutz, through Celerina, Samada, Ponto, and Madulein, is extremely pleasant. These villages lie chiefly upon the sides of the mountains gently rising above a plain, which in some parts is a mile broad, in others so narrow as to be entirely occupied by the river Inn. The valley is enclosed on both sides by a chain of alps, covered for a considerable height with wood interspersed with pasture, and their tops capped with snow. The river, which in this part is free from cataracts, is joined by innumerable torrents, that rush down the sides of the rocks, or burst from the ground.

THE Inn, during its progress in this part, is very unlike most of the rivers which I traced in my former tour. The Rhone, the Reufs, and the Aar, for instance, fall, near their sources, in a continual cataract, over fragments of rock, and through the most wild and uninhabited tracts of country; while this river directs its course through a cultivated and populous district, in an equable unbroken stream. The country is picturesque, and its beauties are of a milder cast than are usual in these Alpine regions. The burghs, or villages, are pleasantly dotted about the plain, at the distance of
about

about a mile from each other. Each village contains about fifty or a hundred houses, standing contiguous; these habitations are of stone plastered and white-washed, and are in such excellent repair, that they appear as if they had been newly constructed. The spirit of neatness indeed is so general in Upper Engadina, that I scarcely observed one bad house through the whole district; and even the barns are as good as the cottages in many countries.

As I was riding through Bever, the clergyman of that place, who was smoking his pipe at his door, stopped me with a compliment, and upon my entering into conversation with him, invited me to see his library. I alighted accordingly, and looked over his collection. He shewed me some English books, and many in the Romansh language, particularly the * Bible printed at Coire, which is dedicated to George the Second when Prince of Wales. He was also so obliging as to accompany me a little way. About half a mile from Bever he pointed out to me a single house called Alles Angnes, where the deputies of the two communities of Upper Engadina assemble for the purpose of deciding, in the last resort, appeals in civil causes. A little further he desired me to observe a small spring, which falls into the Inn a few paces from its source. It is called Fontana Merla, and would not, he added, be worthy of notice, if it did not separate the two communities of Upper Engadina. Soon afterwards I took leave of the clergyman, mounted my horse, and proceeding to Zutz, passed the Inn several times, over

* This Bible is in the dialect of the Grey League.

bridges of single arches, which have a very striking appearance. They were constructed by scholars of the famous Grubenman*, and in the same style of architecture as the bridges of Schaffhausen and Wettingen, excepting that they are not covered.

ZUTZ, although not the largest is esteemed the principal place of Upper Engadina, because it contains the criminal court of justice. The Landamman of Sotto Fontana Merla, who always presides in this court, is chosen every other turn from the family of Planta, established at Zutz: this peculiar privilege, which gives to that family no inconsiderable influence in the political affairs of this country, was formerly granted by a bishop of Coire, who was uncle to one of the Plantas. Upon my arrival at Zutz, I waited upon Mr. Planta, formerly Envoy from the Republic of the Grisons to that of Venice; he was appointed to that embassy in order to renew the antient league which formerly subsisted between the two states, but which had been interrupted by the last treaty of 1763, between the Empress of Germany and the Grisons; on which occasion the Venetians were so much enraged, that they expelled the Grisons from their territories. This negotiation, however, though conducted with great ability, was ineffectual. Mr. Planta received me with great politeness and cordiality, and invited me to supper; and as the evening was not set in, he accompanied me to what is called the camp of Drusus, which I was desirous of examining.

* See Vol. I. Lett. 2. and 13.

You recollect the campaign which Drusus, the adopted son of Augustus, and brother of Tiberius, carried on against the fierce inhabitants of these mountainous countries; and which Horace, in compliment to his patron, has alluded to in the following passages:

*Videre Rheti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem et Vindelici;*

and afterwards,

————— *arces.*
*Alpibus impositas tremendas
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici.*

This campaign of Drusus against the Rhetians was attended with great success, and he defeated the barbarous inhabitants, before deemed unconquerable, (*indomitosque Rhetos*) with great slaughter. The supposed remains of his camp consist of several deep pits, and a mound of earth about thirty feet high and sixty paces in circumference. These works did not appear to me to be of Roman construction; probably they are nothing more than a rude fortification thrown up during the turbulent times, when the barons of the country were engaged in perpetual acts of hostility: a desire to render them venerable by the remoteness of their origin, and the splendour of the Roman name, seems the only cause of their being attributed to Drusus. Having satisfied my curiosity, I returned to Zutz, and passed an agreeable evening with Mr. Planta.

Scampf, August 3d.

THE little burghs in these parts are situated at such a small distance from each other, that my daily journeys are scarcely so much as a morning's walk; and I am so delighted with the country and its inhabitants, that I could willingly take up my abode here for some time longer. Upon my arrival at Scampf, I carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Perini; who introduced me to Mr. Aporta, the clergyman of the place. He is a native of Lower Engadina, of the antient and illustrious family of Aporta. He studied* some time at Deprezin, in Hungary; but returning to his native country, was soon afterwards appointed pastor of Scampf. His income is small, scarcely amounting to £. 20 † per annum, and yet his living is esteemed one of the best in Engadina. With this moderate revenue he is able to maintain a wife and large family. His chief work, which is a sufficient proof of his extensive knowledge, and indefatigable industry, is the History of the Reformation among the Grisons, in two volumes quarto. It is written in Latin, and compiled with great impartiality and exactness. The style is classical and perspicuous. This excellent publication is not merely confined to ecclesiastical transactions; for as the affairs of religion are intimately blended with political events, the latter make no inconsiderable figure in every History of the Reformation. The reader will find in Mr. Aporta's performance a minute and faithful account of the

* He received his education, I believe, in the University of Basle.

† Considering the different modes of living, and different value of money, this sum is perhaps equivalent to about £. 60 in England.

animosities between France and Spain, in relation to the Grisons; of the rebellion in the Valteline; of the massacre of the Protestants; and of the subsequent war carried on under the semblance of religion. This interesting narrative comprehends almost all the important events in the history of the Grisons, from the beginning of the reformation to the peace of the Valteline.

I LOOK up with reverence to this learned author, for his unwearied industry in completing so laborious a work with little encouragement, and under all the disadvantages which arise from a difficulty of procuring books, and straitened circumstances. All that he ever obtained, beside fame, was a present of twenty-five guineas, which enabled him to bear his expences to Zurich, for the purpose of collecting materials from the manuscripts in the public library. The work, printed at Coire, at the expence of the typographical society, has never produced any emolument to the author. This respectable divine, beside a critical knowledge of the learned languages, understands and speaks Italian and German, is able to read French, and has some acquaintance with the Hungarian and Wallachian tongues. During the little time I passed in his company, I had frequent occasion to be surprized at his profound erudition and comprehensive abilities; and I am particularly indebted to him for much exact information concerning the Romanish tongue, the general purport of which I shall transmit to you in a future letter *.

* Letter 90.

UPPER ENGADINA is divided into two communities, called Sotto and Sopra Fontana Merla, from their situation above or below that spring. They have both the same court of criminal justice, which is held at Zutz, and consists of the Landamman of Sotto, who is president, and sixteen jurymen, called Trouadors, taken equally from each district. Justice is more equitably administered in this court than in any other throughout the Grisons, excepting at Coire; a circumstance which arises from the following causes. The code of criminal laws was composed in 1563 by one Juvalta, who had been envoy from the Republic of the Grisons to Venice, and had there imbibed more enlarged conceptions of jurisprudence, than at that time prevailed among his rude countrymen. This excellent code was drawn up in Latin, and in 1644 was translated into Romansh. The fines enjoined for criminal offences do not belong to the judges, but to the community. The expences of the process are defrayed, and a salary is allowed to the judges from the public fund: the judges by these means, being not so much interested to convict the prisoner, are not so ready to employ the horrid expedient of torture for the purpose of enforcing confession.

ANOTHER cause of the equity observable in this court, is the mode of electing the judges: they are not, as in many of the other communities, chosen by the people collectively assembled, but by sixteen deputies who represent the several districts. By these means the election is carried on with more prudence, and with a greater attention to the qualifications of the judges, than can be expected amidst the confusion of a popular meeting. The same deputies choose all the civil magi-

strates by a majority of voices; and finally decide all legislative and political questions, which have before been separately proposed to the several districts which they represent. Their constituents have the power (which they frequently exercise) of peremptorily directing their vote. It is, however, no inconsiderable alleviation of the mischiefs frequently attendant on governments purely democratical, that the whole body of the populace on no occasion assemble upon one spot, but discuss matters in detached parties, and send the result of their deliberation by their representatives.

UPPER ENGADINA is a very beautiful valley, yet, on account of its elevation, produces nothing but pasture and a small quantity of rye and barley. The winter sets in early and ends late, during which time sledges are the ordinary vehicles. The air, even at the present season, is cold and piercing, and the corn in the midst of summer is occasionally much damaged by the hoar-frosts. Hence the Italian proverb,

* *Engadina Terra Fina, se non fosse la pruina.*

As the district does not yield sufficient productions for the sustenance of the inhabitants, many of them migrate into foreign countries; the gentry in the military line, as is common through Switzerland; others in the capacity of mechanics, tradesmen, and merchants: their favourite occupation is to keep coffee-houses or pastry-cook shops in dif-

* Engadina would be a fine country if there was no frost.

ferent

ferent parts of Italy and France. Generally two persons enter into partnership to carry on the same trade: one stays in his own country, and the other attends the business for a year, when he is relieved by his partner, and returns to his family for the same term. These partners are commonly as faithful as they are industrious; they annually bring considerable sums of money into this district, which is esteemed the richest among the Grisons.

MANY of the inhabitants feed numerous herds of cattle in the summer months upon the Upper Alps, and export large quantities of cheese and butter. In the autumn, when pasture begins to be scarce, they send great part of the cattle for sale into the Tyrol. The inhabitants live very much upon salted meat, particularly in winter, on account of the dearth of fodder. The bread of the country is mostly brownish; it is baked in little round cakes, only two or three times in the year, and becomes so hard that it is sometimes broken with the hatchet; it is not an unpleasant food with cheese or butter, which are very common. The greatest part of the butter is made on the Alps; it is afterwards melted, put into bottles, and frequently continues good during the whole year. The wine of the Valteline is much esteemed, and is by no means scarce in this country: it bears keeping to a very considerable age. I have tasted some wine from the cask, of a very fine flavour, above fifty years old, although it grows four in the space of three years in the warm climate of the Valteline.

THE people are, for the most part, remarkably polite and well-bred; they bow to me as I pass with great civility, and will perform any kind offices in the readiest and most obliging manner. I am indeed no less delighted with the manners of the inhabitants, their politeness and hospitality, than with the romantic scenery of the country. Although many of the natives spend a great portion of their time in foreign parts, they seldom lose their attachment to Engadina; and return with great eagerness to their family and friends, after their occasional absence. The inhabitants of Upper Engadina are computed at about four thousand, and out of these, four or five hundred, upon an average, earn their livelihood in foreign countries.

L E T T E R 73.

LOWER ENGADINA—CERNETZ—HULDRIC CAMP—
 TRASP—REMUS—ENTRANCE INTO THE TYROL
 —SANTA MARIA.

Cernetz, August 4th.

THE valley of Upper Engadina, from Celerina to a few miles beyond Scampf, is nearly level; it is enclosed between two ridges of mountains, which are highest at Celerina, and gradually diminish in height and ruggedness. About Zutz and Scampf is the finest part of the valley: it there produces some rye and barley, and the mountains are clothed with verdure to their very summits. Beyond Scampf the plain ends; and the river Inn, which had hitherto winded in a gentle course, is contracted into a narrow channel, and falls in continual cataracts. The road ascends and descends along the sides of the mountains: and the country is thickly overspread with woods of fir and pines.

I PASSED through several villages, similar to those I have described in the preceding letter; and near Brail I crossed a small bridge thrown over a precipice, and overlooking a foaming cataract. This bridge is called in the language of the country *Pont Alta*, or High Bridge, and forms the separation between Upper and Lower Engadina. Even if the limits of the two districts had not been thus marked out, the sudden

sudden alteration of the road, for the worse, would have led me to suspect that I had quitted Upper Engadina. The road from the lake of Siglio to Pont Alta is like our turnpikes in England, and sufficiently broad to contain two or three carriages abreast; no common circumstance in these mountainous regions. It has been lately made, in consequence of a proposal from the House of Austria, at the late treaty of Milan, to improve the roads leading through the Pregalia and the two Engadinas, in order that the merchandise to and from Pregalia might be transported this way through the Tyrol, instead of being carried, as it is at present, through Coire.

THE House of Austria offered to defray the whole expence of this undertaking. The inhabitants of Upper Engadina, although they declined, with a spirit of disinterestedness rarely to be found in democratical states, the offer of indemnification, immediately carried the plan into execution within their own territories; but the intrigues of the citizens of Coire, whose interest would have greatly suffered by the new arrangement, together with an inveterate persuasion, that good roads would render the country too accessible to the neighbouring powers, prevented the people of Pregalia and Lower Engadina from co-operating in this useful project; accordingly that part of this road, which runs through their districts, remains in its original state. After crossing Pont Alta, I passed along a wild and almost uninhabited tract of forest until I reached Cernetz, where I am now comfortably lodged in the house of Mr. Planta. That gentleman is at his government of Morbegno, in the Valteline; but having accidentally
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met me at Chiavenna, kindly gave me a letter of recommendation to his uncle, who would not permit me to continue at the inn.

CERNETZ is situated in a small rich plain, bounded by two ridges of mountains converging at both extremities. This plain produces wheat, barley, rye, flax, and abundance of rich pasture. I feel an essential difference between the climate of this little plain and that of Upper Engadina; it is much warmer, and has all its natural productions much farther advanced towards maturity. Large quantities of wood are felled upon these mountains, and floated down the Inn as far as Inspruck. In this plain the Inn is joined by the large torrent Spælg, that descends from the mountains of Bormio. By the side of this torrent, and at the extremity of a narrow pass leading to Bormio and Munster, I observed a square tower, which in 1624 the Marquis de Cæuvres garrisoned with a body of French and Grison troops, in order to check the motions of the Austrian army posted at Munster. The pass is still further fortified by a stone wall, carried from the foot of an inaccessible rock to the tower, and from thence to the torrent.

THE Marquis de Cæuvres, to whom the guard of this important pass was committed, was son of the Marquis d'Etrées; he was bred up to the church, and created bishop of Noyon; but upon the death of his elder brother renounced the ecclesiastical line, and embraced the profession of arms. He distinguished himself in several campaigns under Henry the Fourth, and was afterwards employed in

the reign of Louis the Thirteenth as embassador to Turin and Rome. In 1624 he was appointed embassador extraordinary to the Republic of the Grisons, and commander in chief of an army, composed of French and Swiss troops, sent to the assistance of the Grisons during the war of the Valteline. He penetrated through Coire into Lower Engadina, and seized, without delay, the important pass just now described; by this manœuvre he secured the only avenue by which he could open a passage to Bormio, the reduction of which place was followed by an almost immediate submission of the Valteline. For these important services the Marquis, on his return to France, was created Duc d'Etrées, and raised to the highest honours. He died in 1670, in the 102d year of age.

I EMPLOYED the greatest part of this morning in making extracts from Campel's account of the Grisons, esteemed the best topographical and political history of this country yet extant. It consists of three large folio volumes, and is written in Latin. It has never been printed, and is very rarely met with. I had the good fortune to find a copy in the library of Count Firmian, at Milan, who with that readiness to oblige, which peculiarly distinguished his character, permitted me to consult it. My stay at Milan being very short, and employed in other researches, I had not made so good an use of this indulgence as I could have wished; and as I have now found the same work in Mr. Planta's library, I embrace this opportunity of perusing the most interesting parts: it has given me a great insight into the geography, history, and governments of this

this country, which are treated with the most circumstantial accuracy.

HULDRIC CAMPTEL, the author of this valuable work, was born, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, at Sufs, in Lower Engadina, and made a most uncommon proficiency in every species of literature. He was one of the earliest reformers in this country, and became, by his active zeal, as well as by his extensive erudition, a great instrument in spreading the reformation through this district. An event of small consequence which happened in his family gave rise to the sudden and wide dissemination of the new doctrines, and ended in the abolition of the Roman Catholic religion.

WHILE he was absent, in 1537, upon the prosecution of his studies, his wife was delivered of a daughter, which was so sickly and weak, as to seem upon the point of expiring. Gaspar Campel, father of Huldric, a man strongly attached to the reformed doctrines, refused to have the child christened by the Popish priest of the parish, nor would suffer even the midwives to sprinkle it, according to the custom of the Romish church, with holy water; and, as there was no reformed minister at hand, he performed the ceremony of baptism himself. This act was looked upon in so abominable a light by the Roman Catholics of Sufs, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and attacked Gaspar with such fury, that he narrowly escaped assassination. His enemies then brought an accusation against him before the diet, which at first referred the cause to arbitration; but no satis-

factory decision being obtained from this mode of proceeding, a public conference was ordered to be held in the church of Sufs, before deputies from the several communities, upon the following question, "Whether, if a child is born and likely to die before a priest can be sent for, the baptism performed by a layman was preferable to that by midwives?"

THIS ridiculous inquiry led to discussions of great moment. The reformed ministers refused to acknowledge any authority but that of the Holy Scriptures, while the Catholics considered the writings of the fathers and decrees of the church as infallible: each party, thus regarding every point through a different medium, could never be prevailed on to adopt the arguments of its antagonist; and the dispute lasted seven days with little prospect of any satisfactory conclusion. Fortunately, however, a system of accommodation, which this endless mode of reasoning could never even distantly promise, was summarily attained by the moderation of the deputies. They decided, that in cases of extreme necessity, where no priest was present, either a layman or the midwives might baptise, and that the former was preferable to the latter: but what was of the greatest consequence, they inculcated this rational position, that in regard to the other controverted points of faith debated in the course of the argument, every person might safely hold that doctrine, which from full conviction he was persuaded to be the word of God. This conference was productive of the most beneficial effects; for the people, who flocked thither in great numbers, were taught to consider the Holy Scriptures as the only authority in controverted questions. The tendency
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of this maxim was obvious: in fact it produced such immediate and rapid effects, that within the space of twenty years the Reformation was completely established throughout Engadina*.

To return to Huldric Campel: he not only approved his father's conduct in the affair of his daughter's baptism, but became a zealous proselyte to the new doctrines. Having entered into holy orders, he undertook the care of a reformed church in the valley of Pretigau, where he was indefatigable in the performance of his duty, and the propagation of the Protestant religion. In 1550 he was drawn to Sufs by the friends of the Reformation, as a person the most qualified to combat the Roman Catholic church. His labours were attended with such success, that, a short time after his appearance in his native place, mass was abolished, and the Reformation publicly adopted. Nor was Sufs the sole theatre of his exertions; at Cernetz, and several other places, the persuasion of his eloquence, and the force of his arguments, gained a numerous train of converts. He passed the decline of his life at Schlins, where he was pastor, and persevered to the last period of his existence in disseminating and defending the doctrine of the reformed churches, as ably with his eloquence as he recommended it by his example. Amidst the occupation of religious duties, he found leisure to continue his history of the Grisons to 1580. He died the following † year at Schlins, in an extreme old age, leaving a

* Excepting the small village of Samun.

† Some authors place his death in 1582.

name highly respectable in the religious and literary annals of this country.

THE history of Campel consists of three volumes. The first dwells chiefly on the topography of the Grisons, and describes the different districts and towns: it likewise delineates the nature of the several governments, and the various forms of civil and criminal jurisprudence in the petty republics into which this country is subdivided. The second volume comprises the history of Rhætia, from the earliest period to the Suabian war in 1499, under the emperor Maximilian I. The materials are chiefly drawn from Tschudi, Stumpf, and other Swiss historians. The third volume, in which the history is brought down to his own times, is the most interesting and authentic. Campel having submitted his work to the examination and correction of Bullinger and Simler, presented, in 1577, a copy to the diet of the three leagues, and received public thanks. But as his own fortune was inadequate to the expences of publication, and as no bookseller would undertake to print so voluminous a work, it has never been given to the world.

Remus, August 4th.

THE road from Cernetz to Scuol is a continual ascent and descent, and so rocky and bad, that I employed above eight hours in riding only twenty miles. The small plain of Cernetz soon ends, and is succeeded by a rude assemblage of rocks and forests. Sus is situated in a narrow pass between the river Inn and a contiguous ridge of rocks a little beneath the ruins of an old castle: close to it is a small fertile plain, which

which agreeably diversified the wildness of the rocks and forests.

THE road to Ardetz follows the course of the Inn, which murmurs below in a deep narrow channel, heard but not seen. From Ardetz (over which hangs, upon a lofty rock, a ruined castle called Steinberg) I descended along a very steep craggy path to the river Inn, which I crossed, and mounted a rapid ascent, leaving on my right hand the valley of Scharla, in which there are silver mines belonging to the House of Austria: they were formerly very rich, and yielded a considerable advantage, but are now exhausted. I passed through the straggling village of Trasp, and close to a castle of the same name, situated upon the highest point of a perpendicular rock. Count Dietrichstein, as lord of the castle, is a prince of the German empire: it was given to his family by the emperor Leopold, on condition that its possessor should always vote in the diet of the empire for the House of Austria. The formality of a garrison is maintained in this castle by a single Austrian soldier. From Trasp I again descended to the river, crossed it, and ascended to Scuol. I arrived there very late, and set off early this morning.

FROM Scuol to Remus the mountains on the left slope gradually, and are richly cultivated: they produce great quantities of wheat, rye, barley, flax, and hemp: the trees are chiefly pines, firs, and small birch, intermixed with underwood of nut-trees and wild roses. The corn-fields are raised in gradations (if I may so express myself) along the sides of the hills, like the vineyards in the Pays de Vaud.

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The ridges of mountains on the right beyond the Inn are steep, and in many places perpendicular, with few appearances of vegetation. It is now harvest time: I have observed several clergymen employed in reaping the corn. The clergy are very poor in Lower Engadina, and are more numerous than in any other part of the Grisons. The income of the richest benefices amounts to about £.20 per annum; that of the inferior cures to little more than £.8; and this scanty pittance is sometimes subdivided among two or three clergymen, or as many as happen to be unprovided for in the same parish. I stopped at Remus to bait my horses. Near it is a ruined castle, which formerly belonged to the bishop of Coire, and was given by one of the former bishops to the Plantas of Zutz; in right of which donation they claim the privilege of administering the oath to the Landamman of Sotto Tasna. The only remains of this castle are two square towers, in one of which is a miserable apartment, where Mr. Planta gives an annual dinner to the Landamman.

THE form of government in Lower Engadina is more complicated than that of Upper Engadina, and it has cost me no small degree of pains to comprehend and unfold it. I shall not, however, trouble you with a circumstantial account of every particular which struck me in the course of this investigation, but shall comprise my account in as short a compass as possible.

LOWER ENGADINA is divided into three communities, which send three deputies to the general diet. The first community is composed of the parishes of Cernetz, Sufs, Lavin,

Lavin, Guarda, and Ardetz: The second comprises Vettan, Scuol, and Sent; and the third contains Remus, Schlins, and Samun. The two former communities make one High Jurisdiction; and the third forms, with Bevio, Valmorara, and Avers, another High Jurisdiction. In civil causes there are two separate courts of justice, one for that part of the country which lies to the north, the other for the district to the south of the torrent Tasna; from which torrent the two parts are called *Sopra* and *Sotto Tasna*: from each of these courts there lies an appeal, in the last resort, to the civil tribunal of *Sotto Fontana Merla*, in Upper Engadina, or to the neighbouring community of the valley of *Munster*. In criminal causes there are likewise two distinct courts, but without appeal, one for the tract to the north of the mountain *Falon*, another for the region to the south: according to this division the two parts are denominated *Sopra* and *Sotto Montfalon*. By this complicated arrangement Vettan is connected with Scuol and Sent in political concerns; in civil affairs with Scuol, Sent, Remus, Schlins, and Samun; in criminal causes with Cernetz, and the other towns of the first community. This intermixture of various interests creates such an intricacy in the election of deputies, magistrates, judges, both civil and criminal, as would be uninteresting for me to detail, or for you to read.

ONE circumstance, however, cannot fail to strike the most inattentive inquirer; that although the mode of electing the judges is nearly the same with that of Upper Engadina, yet that justice is by no means so impartially administered as in the latter district. I cannot forbear ascribing this

material difference in an affair of such importance to the different condition of the two people; the inhabitants of Upper Engadina, being more enlightened and affluent than their neighbours, are less open to the influence of illiberal prejudices and petty corruption.

PARTY runs very high both in Upper and Lower Engadina: there are some considerable families in these districts, of which the principal are those of Defalis and Planta, both subdivided into numerous collateral branches. The history of this country is full of the disputes and struggles between these rival houses, and presents in many periods little more than an uniform picture of domestic feuds. The two parties are distinguished by the appellations of *Scarbonada*, black; and *Alba*, white; the former devoted to the Plantas, the latter to the Defalises. At the time of elections for deputies and magistrates the inhabitants of Lower Engadina seldom abstain from blows, which not unfrequently terminate in bloodshed.

I HAVE more than once had occasion to mention the superiority of politeness which distinguishes the inhabitants of Upper Engadina from those of the lower district. This pre-eminence probably arises from the constant emigration of the former into other countries, and their intercourse with foreigners. I find also a great difference in the comforts of life in the two districts. Although Lower Engadina produces necessaries abundantly sufficient for interior consumption, yet the inhabitants are less industrious, and consequently poorer. In Upper Engadina I was always able to
procure

procure at the commonest inns fresh meat, good oil, and excellent wine, none of which I could obtain in the lower district. The villages are less commodious, and the houses of the peasants are also far inferior in cleanliness, neatness, and convenience. This difference probably proceeds, in a certain degree, from the nature of the country: Upper Engadina yielding but few productions, the inhabitants are obliged to seek from without some means of subsistence; and industry once excited, brings with it its usual companion opulence. On the contrary, the soil of Lower Engadina, fertile in all the fruits of the earth, lays the inhabitants under no necessity of extraordinary exertion, nor obliges them to have recourse to foreign trade.

Santa Maria, August 5th.

IN my way from Remus to St. Martin's bridge, being overtaken by a violent storm of rain, I took shelter in a cottage; and was cheerfully received by a well-looking old woman; my horse was put under a shed, and myself safely housed from the pelting of the shower. The house was perfectly neat and clean, with much better furniture and accommodations than I expected from the external appearance. The old woman talked, (beside the Romanish) German and Italian, and the latter remarkably well. The storm continuing two hours without intermission, I held a long conversation with her, and was greatly pleased with the polite and ready manner with which she expressed herself upon different topics. Upon taking leave, I made several apologies for having dirtied her house, thanked her for her kind

reception, and endeavouring to slip a piece of money into her hand, was surprized at her declining to accept it.

ALL these circumstances inciting my curiosity to obtain some intelligence concerning this old woman, I collected the following account. She is a native of Lower Engadina, of a good family, and formerly possessed a tolerable fortune: she married, when very young, a nobleman of the first family of Milan, who came into Engadina, renounced the Roman Catholic religion, and embraced the Protestant doctrines. They lived for many years in the greatest harmony, till having dissipated almost all her fortune, he one day took leave of her, with a promise of returning in a short time. From that moment she never saw him, nor heard from him, and she was afterwards informed that he was gone to Italy, and, having reimbraced the Roman Catholic religion, had turned monk: upon receiving this information, his wife collected the scanty remains of her fortune, and retired to the spot where I found her.

TOWARDS the extremity of Lower Engadina I crossed the Inn over St. Martin's bridge, at a little village of the same name: on the other side I came into Tyrol, where that river struggles through a very narrow channel, between two ridges of high and rugged rocks. I now took a farewell of the Inn, which I had accompanied from its source. At St. Martin's bridge it forms the separation of Engadina and the Tyrol; on receiving the torrent Schargenbach, it quits the territory of the Grisons, and passing through the Tyrol and the

the Electorate of Bavaria, joins the Danube at Passau with so large a body of water, as to equal, if not surpass, the celebrated river in which it loses its name. Hence Scheutzer has laboured to prove, that the Danube may be said to rise in the Rhetian Alps with more justness than in the mountains of Suabia, because the proportion of waters, which descend from the former, is greater than what is supplied from the latter.

IN the village of St. Martin Romanish is spoken; on the other side of the bridge just mentioned German is the language of the country. From the steep banks of the Inn I ascended a high mountain, along an excellent road, lately formed at the expence of the emperor, in order to facilitate the communication between Milan and the Tyrol. Having enjoyed from the top a fine view of the Inn and Lower Engadina, I descended to Nauders, and dined upon a cold fowl, which Mr. Planta had ordered my servant to put up for me, without which precaution I should have made but a scanty meal.

FROM Nauders I went along a small pleasant valley, bounded on the left by a ridge of mountains which separate the Tyrol from Engadina. The valley is about a quarter of a mile broad, and almost level: it is covered with rich pasture, and watered by a lively torrent that falls into the Inn. At the end of this valley I came to a gentle ascent, on the other side of which there is a lake, which is one of the first sources of the Adige; beyond this is another lake, and
further

further on a third: the banks of these lakes are prettily skirted with villages, at one of which I passed the night.

HAVING a long day's journey from thence to Bormio, I set out at five this morning, and proceeded by the side of the torrent which flows from the lakes and forms the Adige. The country is agreeable, and in high cultivation, especially where it opens into a rich and extensive view beyond Mals, which town I passed at a little distance on my left hand, and turned short into the road that leads to the valley of Munster. At the bottom of the first ascent I went through Laitch, which is subject in spiritual affairs to the bishop of Coire, in temporal to the House of Austria. From thence I mounted through a rich rising valley to Santa Maria. Tauven is the last village in the Tyrol where the inhabitants speak German. A little beyond that place I passed the barrier, and again entered the territory of the Grisons, where the Romansh is the common tongue. At Munster is a monastery for women, from * which the name of the town and of the valley is derived. It is very antient, and said to have been founded by Charlemagne: I was not, however, permitted to examine it, as it is against the rules of all nunneries to admit a male visitant within the walls. I proceeded to Santa Maria, from whence I am now writing.

THIS valley of Munster contains Santa Maria, Munster, Valdera, Cierfs, and several other villages, which form a community in the league of God's House. Formerly the

* Monasterium.

bishop of Coire had considerable influence and power in the government of the valley. Justice was administered in his name, and he received the amercements for criminal offences; but having violent disputes with the inhabitants, he sold these rights in 1727 to the emperor Charles the Sixth: the republic of the Grisons, however, objecting to this transfer of immunities, which they considered as unalienable, the bishop was obliged to re-purchase, and dispose of them to the inhabitants, who are now perfectly independent. The people are divided into Catholics and Protestants; the Catholics inhabiting the town of Munster, with its immediate dependencies, the Protestants the remainder of the valley: the magistrates and judges are chosen equally from both parties, who live together in tolerable harmony. The common language is the Romansh, the same as spoken in Lower Engadina, though not quite so pure, as, on account of its proximity and connection with the Tyrol, it is blended with a great number of German words.

L E T T E R 74.

PASSAGE OF MOUNT BRALIO—COUNTY AND TOWN
OF BORMIO.

Bormio, August 7th.

THE passage from Santa Maria to this place was very tedious, and would have been attended with some danger had I been detained a day later; as the great quantity of rain, which has poured down without intermission, would have rendered the Alpine paths extremely slippery. I continued to ascend two hours from Santa Maria to the top of Mount Bralio, which separates the valley of Munster from the county of Bormio. This body of Alps is supposed to be the same which Tacitus mentions under the name of *Juga Rætica**. Ascending the whole way by the side of the torrent Ramo, the same which flows by Laitch, and falls into the Adige† below Mals, I traced it to its source, where it rushes from a glacier, amidst an enclosure of surrounding rocks. A few paces further, on the summit of the Bralio, another torrent falls from the same glacier in a contrary direction, which forms the first source of the Adda.

FROM this point a descent commences, and continues, with little interruption, to Bormio. The tops of these

* Hist. lib. i.

† Or rather two torrents form by their junction the Adige.

mountains

mountains produce no wood, but yield excellent pasture; they were covered with cattle. The most elevated parts are of granite, but not near so fine grained as that which is observed upon the St. Gothard, and some of the other Swiss Alps. I then went down a very narrow rugged path, and in an hour entered the county of Bormio, and a small plain about a mile in length, in the midst of which is a single house, that is termed an inn; and which is the first habitation I met with since I quitted the valley of Munster. There was no one within but a woman and two children, who spoke a corrupt Italian: the woman was greatly affronted on my inquiring if she talked Romanish; being a Roman Catholic, she seemed to consider it as a kind of heresy to understand that language.

I FOLLOWED the course of the Adda, which flows through the plain; it is at first a small torrent, but gradually increases, by a continued accession of water from the neighbouring mountains. At the end of this small plain the descent recommences, and the track from thence to Bormio is as craggy as the highest parts of Switzerland. Since my entrance into the country of the Grisons, I have not yet met with such astonishing scenes of wildness, horror, and majesty, as occurred in this day's journey. Description generally fails in representing the most ordinary exhibitions of nature; how inadequate then must it be to the singular combination of sublime objects, which I shall now attempt to delineate?

ON quitting the small plain I entered suddenly into a most barren and desolate region; on my right hand huge piles of misshapen Alps; on my left a large mass of ice and snow. Close to the path the Adda foams from precipice to precipice in broken cataracts; lower down it shoots over a succession of natural steps, which seem as if they had been hewn in the rock by art; at the distance of about a mile, it is contracted in a narrow channel, through which it labours with incessant fury. Over this tremendous gulph is a slight wooden bridge, which is partly supported upon a detached fragment of rock, and partly suspended upon the sides of the opposite mountains: as we passed over, it tottered with our weight. I then continued upon the edge of a deep abyss, the Adda roaring beneath, though nowhere visible, suggesting to my imagination cataracts more stupendous than any I had hitherto seen. Its channel is cut perpendicularly in the rock, which has evidently been hollowed to the depth of some hundred feet by the attrition of the waters.

I NOW arrived at a barren spot, where the vale was entirely closed by an impassable mountain: a stream bursts from a small opening in the rock, and then expanding as it falls, forms a considerable torrent, foaming amidst vast fragments of stone. Having turned suddenly to the left, by an opening through which the Adda seems to have forced a passage, I discovered some fertile fields lying upon the side of a distant mountain, which beautifully contrasted with the wild and uncultivated scenes we had just quitted: a few paces further was the prospect of a fertile plain extending to Bormio, the Adda
flowing

flowing in a milder stream, which a moment before roared underneath our feet, over broken precipices. In about half an hour I reached the baths of St. Martin, in the valley of Premaglia; they are formed by several hot springs which rise near Molina, and are much frequented at this season of the year. They are of the same nature with those of Bath, but did not appear so hot. From thence I descended into the plain, which produces some corn, and yields excellent pasture, and in short time arrived at Bormio. Every thing now wears an Italian look: the villages are very inferior to those in the Grisons. The houses are plastered, and have a dirty appearance; and it was no bad remark of my servant, that the villages looked as if the inhabitants were mostly dead, and the place deserted. This road over the Bralio, although so indifferent, was formerly the principal passage for the merchandise sent from the Tyrol, through the Valteline, into the Milanese: at present it is much less frequented.

THE county of Bormio, subject to the Grisons, lies at the foot and in the midst of the Rhetian Alps, and borders upon Engadina, the valley of Munster, the Valteline, Tyrol, Trent, and the Venetian territories. It is entirely enclosed within the mountains, except a narrow opening, which connects it with the Valteline: the other accesses to it lie across the rugged Alps, and are similar to the passage over the Bralio: in winter they are frequently impassable. This county, once a part of the Milanese, became subject to the Grisons in 1512: the concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, which occasioned this revolution, will be related in the subsequent

letter, upon the Valteline; for, as the Valteline came under the dominion of the Grifons at the same period, and from the same causes, the two histories are so intimately blended, that they cannot be separated.

THE county is divided into five districts, 1. Bormio, which comprises the capital, and several dependent villages. 2. The valley of Furba. 3. The valley of Pedinosa. 4. The valley of Cepino. 5. The valley of Luvino. The inhabitants of the Luvino possess several privileges, particularly the power of judging civil causes within a certain value. They do not, however, appoint any of the magistrates, who are all chosen from the four other districts. The county of Bormio enjoys very ample immunities, some of which are not extended to the Valteline, or Chiavenna; in virtue of which, the inhabitants are exempted from the oppressions so wantonly exercised by the Grifon governors in the other subject countries.

1. THE inhabitants pay a fixed contribution to the Grifons, which is very moderate, and cannot be increased. 2. They collect and enjoy their own duties upon exports and imports, which secures them from injudicious and oppressive taxes. 3. The fines for criminal offences belong to the community; a circumstance very friendly to the administration of justice: for no part of them being assigned to the governor, as is the case in the other subject provinces, he is not interested to convict criminals. 4. But the principal privilege which distinguishes this country from the Valteline,

teline, is the freedom of its government, and the limitation of the *podesta's* authority.

BORMIO, like all the other subject countries, is governed by a supreme magistrate called *Podestà*, who is sent from the Grisons, and continues two years in office: his authority is so exceedingly circumscribed, that he enjoys scarcely any power, but with the concurrence of the councils. He presides in these councils without giving a vote, except in case of equality; he has neither the power of arresting a criminal, nor of pardoning or lessening the punishment; he receives a yearly stipend from the country of about £. 80, arising partly from a payment in money, partly from an allowance of rye, and partly from the costs of suit in civil and criminal causes. But the restrictions laid on his authority will best appear from the following short sketch of the established government.

THE supreme authority resides in the *podesta* and councils, which consist in a civil and criminal tribunal, whose members are annually chosen by the people. The criminal court, or the council of Sixteen, who are changed every four months, is composed of two regents, the treasurer, the notary, and sixteen counsellors, ten of whom are taken from the town, and two from each of the vallies of Furba, Pedinofa, and Cepino: of these members only the sixteen counsellors have any vote. At the request of the two regents, this council is convened by the *podesta*. In order to arrest a criminal, the whole council ought to assemble, or at least

least seven of the members; but in any case of importance, the podesta and two regents may give an order of arrest; this, however, being contrary to law, must be referred to the first meeting of the council, which, if satisfied, decrees in the words of their code, *Male captus; bene detentus*; the arrest was illegal, but expedient. The process is formed, and the prisoner examined by the podesta and two regents, who lay the proceedings before the council. If the criminal is convicted, and will not confess his crime, the majority of the council decide whether the proofs are strong enough to justify torture: when that horrid expedient is deemed requisite, it must be applied in the presence of the podesta, the two regents, the treasurer, and notary.

THE fines are paid to the community, which (should the prisoner be insolvent) defrays the expence of the process. If the proofs against the prisoner appear insufficient for his conviction, the podesta and counsellors receive nothing for their attendance: this regulation, which was designed to prevent frivolous prosecutions, is productive of this ill effect, that it induces the judges to strain the slightest circumstances into proofs of guilt, and not unfrequently occasions the infliction of torture*. The civil tribunal consists of twelve members, taken from the town of Bormio, who determine all civil causes in the first instance: from their decision there lies an appeal to the syndicate of the Grisons.

* Little more is wanting to the reformation of criminal jurisprudence in Bormio, than to render the examinations public; to pay the judges for their attendance, whether the prisoner is innocent or guilty; and to abolish torture.

THE members of these councils are chosen annually in the following manner, by the assembly of the people, consisting of, 1. All those who have been magistrates; 2. Of sixty persons from the town, nominated by the two chiefs of the people; 3. Of sixty persons chosen equally by the three vallies; 4. Of three deputies from the valley of Luvinio. All these representatives assemble on the 15th of June, in the town-hall of Bormio: the election is carried on in the most democratical manner, upon a plan calculated to prevent all influence; which, however, can never be entirely excluded by the most complicated mode of election ever invented. Without enlarging upon the form of voting by ballot used at Bormio, I shall, on account of its singularity, only briefly describe the ceremony of choosing the two regents. After the nomination of the counsellors, the regent last in office points to some person in the assembly. At the same instant the treasurer mentions some number, as for instance, ten, fifteen, &c. This number is immediately counted by the regent, beginning from the person to whom he is pointing: the last six of the persons counted retire into a separate room, and chuse six members of the assembly, namely, three from the district of Bormio, and three from the valleys, who appoint six candidates. The names of the latter are thrown into six bags, and ballotted for, and the two, who have the greatest number of ballots, are regents. They remain in office only four months, in order to prevent their abusing their power, which is very great.

THE expences of government are regulated with democratic jealousy; and the accounts are annually submitted to the inspection of each district, in the following manner:

When

When the regents retire from office, the treasurer delivers in a fummary of the expences and receipts incurred during their adminiftration, which is read to the council of Sixteen, and cannot pafs without their approbation. In October the council elects three examiners, two of whom are always taken from the inhabitants of the town, and one reciprocally from each of the three valleys. Thefe examiners make a report, which is laid before a deputation from the town and the valleys on the 3d of May, and five copies are diftributed to the feveral deputies, for the infpection of their refpective conftituents: laftly, the report is read before the affembly of representatives, who meet for the election of the magiftrates, when it is either finally approved or rejected.

THE revenue of the country of Bormio, however trifling, is nearly adequate to the current expences; it arifes in the following manner:

	£.	s.	d.
Duty upon merchandife, which this year amounted to	29	5	0
Letting of the pasture upon the Alps of Frederiga, Gallo, and Braglio, - - - - -	30	13	4
For liberty of cutting wood, - - - - -	6	13	4
Profits arifing from the fale of the corn granted by the government of Milan, - - - - -	25	4	0
Rent of the baths, - - - - -	13	6	8
Fines, upon an average, - - - - -	14	0	0
Tythes of corn produced, - - - - -	103	12	0
	222	14	4

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The following is a Table of the average Expences.

	£.	s.	d.
For making and repairing roads and bridges,	83	6	8
Salary of the magistrates,	71	8	0
Salary of the podesta and syndicate,	57	7	6
	212	2	2

IN this calculation a few occasional expences are omitted, which render the general outgoings greater than the receipts: the overplus is supplied by equal assessments. For the purpose of assessing, there is a perpetual committee, consisting of twelve members chosen from the town, and two from each valley, which is convoked by the regents. The sum required being laid before them, they fix the quota according to a calculation of property.

THE mountainous parts of this country produce only pasturage and wood: the lower district about Bormio yields corn, but not sufficient for domestic consumption. The inhabitants export cattle, a small quantity of cheese, and iron: the iron is obtained from the mine of Freli, in the valley of Pedinoso, worked at the expence, and for the profit, of a private person, who pays to the community a small annual rent. Wine is imported from the Valteline, corn from the Tyrol, corn and rice from Milan, linen from Bergamo and Appenzel, and cloth from Germany.

THE Roman Catholic is the established religion of this country, and the exercise of every other worship is prohibited: even the *podesta* himself, if a Protestant, is not entitled to any indulgence in this particular*. Spiritual affairs are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coire, who has a vicar's court at Bormio, in which all ecclesiastical causes are tried. The priests have peculiar privileges, which are even extended to those who wear a clerical dress. Although many abuses result from those exorbitant immunities, yet, from the nature of the government, they are more restrained here than in the Valteline. Most of the peasants possess a small portion of land, and, in consequence of the freedom of the government, are much happier than the people of the Valteline and Chiavenna.

THE town of Bormio is not unpleasantly situated, at the foot of the mountains, close to the torrent Fredolfo, which falls at a small distance into the Adda. It contains about a thousand inhabitants, but has a desolate appearance. The houses are of stone plastered: a few make a tolerable figure amidst many with paper windows; several, like the Italian cottages, have only wooden window-shutters. This fashion may not be uncomfortable in the mild climate of Italy, but cannot be very agreeable in this country, subject to sudden changes of weather, and occasionally cold even in the midst of summer, when the bleak winds blow keenly from the Alps.

* For the causes of this prohibition, which takes place in all the provinces subject to the Grisons, see the next letter.

THE landlord of the inn in which I am lodged is one of the regents, and appears a man of great consequence. I sit down to table with him, the podesta, and his wife. The podesta has been lately appointed to this government, and it appears, from the conversation which has passed, that he is perfectly ignorant of the laws and constitution of this country; in all my questions he refers me to my landlord, who is thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of the courts of justice, and well versed in the most minute circumstances, relative to the administration of affairs.

IT has rained all day without intermission, and the showers in these Alpine countries pour down with such uncommon violence, that I esteem myself very fortunate in being well sheltered. The bad weather, however, did not prevent me from seeing every thing which is worthy of attention in Bormio, and in paying several visits to the principal families of the town, who consider an Englishman in this country, as a kind of phenomenon, and shewed me every attention and civility in their power. The Palazzo, or town-house, contains a suite of wretched apartments for the residence of the podesta, a chamber for the courts of judicature, and an apartment where the representatives of the people assemble. In one of the rooms is an engine of torture, which, in defiance of common sense, as well as humanity, is still used in these countries to force confession.

BEING desirous of seeing the archives, I found it occasioned more trouble than I at first apprehended. The door of the apartment, in which they are deposited, has several

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locks;

locks; and it was necessary for all the magistrates, who are entrusted with the different keys, to be present at the same time: no objection, however, was made to my admission, and all parties readily assembled upon this occasion. The archives, which are in the greatest disorder, contain many records relating to the history and constitution of Bormio, the criminal and civil statutes, and several charters from the sovereigns of Milan, confirming original privileges and adding others. The earliest of these acts is dated 1378, and signed by John Galeazzo Visconti.

THE most important of the papers is the charter, by which the Grisons confirm, in the most ample manner, the immunities granted to this country by the dukes of Milan: it was passed in the diet of Ilantz, under Paul, bishop of Coire, in 1513, the year subsequent to that in which the Grisons annexed Bormio to their dominions. Many circumstances have concurred to deter the Grisons from infringing this charter: the two principal causes are, the situation of Bormio, and the spirit of freedom which distinguishes the inhabitants. By its situation upon the confines of the Tyrol, the people, in case of the least discontent, would receive encouragement and assistance from the House of Austria. This local advantage procured them, while under the government of Milan, much better treatment than was experienced by their neighbours in the Valteline; and a similar reason still continues to operate upon the conduct of the Grisons. The spirit of freedom also, which pervades the constitution, has no less materially contributed to the security of their privileges: these people have always

ways watched with a jealous eye the slightest advances of encroachment; and have never failed to remonstrate with great unanimity and resolution, whenever the podesta has discovered the least inclination to exceed the bounds of his authority. Hence the Grisons have uniformly acted towards them with great moderation, and have ever paid the readiest attention to their representations and remonstrances.

LETTER

LETTER 75.

TIRANO — SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE
VALTELINE.

Tirano.

I QUITTED Bormio this morning about ten. The torrents are considerably swelled with the late rains; and the sides of the neighbouring mountains are sprinkled with yesterday's snow. From Bormio I passed along the narrow valley of Cepino, through several wretched villages, among which not the least wretched is Cepino itself, consisting of a few straggling cottages, many of which are in a ruinous state. Having crossed the Adda, and continued on the left shore of that torrent, which dashes with great violence through a rocky country, in three hours I came to a pass called La Serra, where almost the whole space between the impending rocks, excepting a small path, is occupied by the Adda.

THE path runs under the gateway of an ancient tower, and leads from the county of Bormio into the Valteline. At Sondalo, which stands on the banks of the river upon an eminence, under a richly cultivated mountain, the valley widens, and becomes more and more fertile: in some places it is about a mile, in others scarcely a hundred yards in breadth. Near Tirano the valley exhibits an appearance of extraordinary fertility. The left ridge of mountains is chiefly

chiefly overspread with hanging groves of chefnut-trees, intermixed with a few vines; above them are meadows and forests of fir. The ridge fronting the southern fun is richly covered with vines, which reach almost to the summit, studded occasionally with clusters of large trees: on both sides churches and houses half concealed by the foliage enliven the prospect. Below runs the Adda. The plain on each side of its banks produces abundance of corn and pasture, mulberries, walnuts, and other fruit-trees, and vines carried over the corn and pasture in beautiful festoons from tree to tree.

TIRANO is the capital of the Upper Terzero, and the residence of the podesta. Although the town contains several handsome buildings, yet, on account of the narrowness of the streets, and number of ruinous houses, its general appearance is desolate. The Adda divides it into two parts, which are joined by a stone bridge of a single arch. I observed remains of stone walls, with which this place was formerly surrounded. These walls, together with an adjoining fortress, were built by Ludovico Sforza, against the incursions of the Grisons; but were dismantled by the Grisons, when they acquired possession of the Valteline. Tirano carries on but little trade, except during the time of the fair. The staple commerce of the town consists in the exportation of wine and silk; the former article, which is the most considerable, is sent in large quantities into the country of the Grisons, to Bormio, and into the territories of Venice. The silk, which is drawn from this district of the Valteline, is not of the best quality, nor very abundant: part is sent
to

to Venice, and the remainder, through Chiavenna, to Germany.

ABOUT half a mile from the town, on the other side of the Adda, is the church of the Madonna, or the Virgin Mary, much visited by the Catholic pilgrims. It is a large handsome building, constructed with marble, and stone stuccoed. Part of the church is ancient, bearing a date of 1206: the carved ornaments in this part are grotesque, but by no means badly finished. The modern building is in an elegant style of architecture. The principal entrance is formed by two Corinthian pillars ornamented with foliage and festoons of flowers, while the pilasters are neatly adorned with *basso relievos*, in the style of the antique. The æra of the workmanship, as might be collected from an inscription over the door, was 1533. In the large area before the church is held, in the month of October, the fair of Tirano, remarkable for the number of cattle which are brought for sale: they are fed upon the highest Alps, where they continue until the snow begins to fall, and are chiefly sent from hence into Italy. The fair continues three days, during which time the authority of the podesta is suspended; and the governor of the Valteline has absolute jurisdiction over the town and district.

I CANNOT describe to you how much I am perplexed with a variety of languages. I speak Italian or French with the principal gentry, and sometimes am obliged to hold a conversation in Latin; talk a smattering of German with my servant, who understands no other language, and, with my guide and the common people, a kind of corrupt Italian,
like

like the Milanese; write my notes in English, and during my progress through Engadina, was employed in collecting a vocabulary of the Romansh. You must not therefore be surprised, should you find in my letters a confusion of tongues.

THE Valteline, called by the inhabitants *Valle-Telina*, extends from the confines of Bormio to the lake of Chiavenna, about the length of fifty miles. It is entirely enclosed between two chains of high mountains; the northern chain separates it from the Grisons, the southern from the Venetian territories: on the east it borders on the county of Bormio, and on the west on the duchy of Milan.

THE Valteline, together with the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio (which had long been the constant source of hostility between the bishops of Como and Coire) came in 1336 under the dominion of Azzo Visconti, sovereign of Milan, who quietly transmitted them to his successors. Upon the death of John Visconti, one of Azzo's successors, his extensive territories were divided between his nephews Galeazzo and Barnabas*. Upon the demise of Galeazzo, his son John Galeazzo secured the person of his uncle Barnabas, and having confined him in the castle of Treviso until his death, which happened in 1395, annexed his dominions to his own, and became by this union the greatest and most powerful prince in Italy. Mastino, son of Barnabas, took shelter, upon his father's imprisonment, with Hartman, bishop of Coire, and died in exile, without re-

* I do not mention Matthias, the eldest brother, because he died soon afterwards.

covering any share of his inheritance. Previous to his death he formally ceded all his right and title over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the bishop of Coire, as a mark of gratitude for his protection. To this cession, at that time of no avail, the Grisons owe the possession of these provinces. The claim lay dormant for above half a century, until some discontents arising in the Valteline in 1487, the Grisons made an irruption into that country, in support of the bishop's right; but their arms not being at that time attended with success, they purchased a peace, by renouncing all pretensions to the Valteline. They renewed, however, their claim in 1512, when Ludovico, called the Moor, Duke of Milan, was taken prisoner by Lewis the Twelfth, and the whole Milanese, comprising the Valteline, occupied by that monarch.

UPON this revolution, the Grisons, in conjunction with the bishop of Coire, entered the Valteline, and, having expelled the French troops, took possession of the country: they were received with joy by the inhabitants, who did homage to their new sovereigns, and in return obtained from them the confirmation of all their privileges. A compromise was immediately entered into between the bishop of Coire and the three leagues, to share between them the sovereignty of this country. In the following year Maximilian Sforza, raised to the ducal throne of Milan upon the expulsion of the French, ceded in perpetuity the possession of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the bishop of Coire, and the Grisons; and this cession was ratified by Francis the First, in the treaty of peace which he concluded with the Swiss and their allies the Grisons in 1516, when he obtained possession of the Milanese.

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IN 1530 the Republic of the Grisons acquired the whole dominion of the Valteline, to the exclusion of the bishop of Coire; under pretence, that the bishop had not furnished his quota of men and money in the war with James of Medici, in defence of these ceded countries: accordingly they compelled the bishop to sell his share of the sovereignty over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, for a yearly income of 573 florins, to be paid to the bishop and his successors out of the customs of Chiavenna. From that period these provinces were possessed by the Grisons without molestation, until the rival interests of France and Spain, the intrigues of the pope, religious enthusiasm, the zeal of party, and the exactions of the Grison governors, kindled an insurrection, which commenced with a general massacre of the Protestants, and raged for a series of years with the most savage and unremitting fury.

IN no country has the spirit of discord been more prevalent, or religious disputes been carried to a greater height. The zeal of contending factions has communicated itself to the historians of these transactions; each of whom is evidently enlisted in a party, and gives different representations of the same facts, according to the interests he has espoused. Under these disadvantages, there is no other method of arriving at the truth, than by comparing contradictory accounts, and rendering them mutually subservient to the detection of each other's imposition; and I am concerned to find, that on both sides religion has been pleaded as a sanction to the most atrocious actions, and been alledged by one party as an excuse for tyranny, and for rebellion by the other.

As the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, originally belonged to the Milanese, the sovereigns of that dutchy always looked upon the Grisons with a jealous eye, and secretly embraced every opportunity to foment the intestine disturbances with which they, in common with all democratical states, are occasionally convulsed. Upon the extinction of the family of Sforza in the person of Francis the Second, the emperor Charles the Fifth seized the Milanese as a fief reverting to the empire, and disregarding the claims of the French king, gave the investiture to his own son Philip. With the possession of the Milanese Philip succeeded to his pretensions upon the Valteline; and although both he and his successor, Philip the Third, entered into treaties of alliance with the three leagues, by which they resigned all claims to this country, yet their renunciation was never sincere. They never finally relinquished all intention of recovering a province which had been once dismembered from the Milanese, and which the contests between France and Spain rendered more valuable to them, than to their predecessors in the dutchy of Milan.

DURING the constant wars, which from the accession of Philip the Second the restless ambition of the Spanish court entailed upon Europe, the German and Spanish branches of the House of Austria were inseparably united; and the councils of Vienna were directed by the cabinet of Madrid. Under these circumstances the Valteline, which, by connecting the Tyrol and the Milanese, afforded the only secure passage for the junction of the Austrian and Spanish troops, became of signal importance. Hence the
Spanish

Spanish governors of Milan, highly solicitous to acquire influence among the people, secretly fomented the spirit of disaffection, which the conduct of the Grison governors had too justly provoked; promised their assistance to the aggrieved inhabitants, and gained by these means a powerful party in favour of their court. The minds of the inhabitants being thus gradually won over to the Spanish interest, the Count of Fuentes, governor of Milan, ventured, in defiance of the Grisons, to construct the fort * which bears his name, for the purpose of commanding the passage of the Valteline. The same reasons which rendered the Spaniards desirous to secure the Valteline, induced the French to obstruct their designs. Henry the Fourth, with his usual vigour, zealously espoused the cause of the Grisons, and was preparing to send effectual assistance against the attempts of Fuentes, when he was cut off by sudden assassination; and the intestine troubles, which took place upon his death, for a time totally withdrew the attention of France from this quarter. The Spaniards, thus freed from their most formidable rival, pursued their projects upon the Valteline without opposition, and availed themselves of the domestic dissensions between the Grisons and the inhabitants.

THE Grisons had long attempted to introduce the Reformation into the Valteline with the most injudicious zeal, and without paying sufficient attention to the prejudices of a superstitious people. Churches for the worship of the Reformed religion were constructed, and ministers regularly settled with a permanent salary. Schools for Protestant

* See Letter 68.

children were established at Sondrio, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Romish priests, and the opposition of the people. Many privileges of the Popish ecclesiastics were taken from them; privileges*, which though exorbitant, and repugnant to every principle of sound government, were sanctified by usage, and could not at once be abolished without exciting general discontent.

To these religious grounds of dissatisfaction were added others, arising from the tyrannical proceedings of the Grison governors, whom the advocates for rebellion painted, and it is to be feared with too much justice, in the most odious colours. "A system," they cried, "of avarice and extortion is established by law; the magistrates purchase their offices, and indemnify themselves by the plunder of the country. All things are venal; life, honour, and even conscience itself, has a price. It is not possible for the governors to be more iniquitous, nor for the people to suffer a greater complication of calamity." These well-grounded complaints were aggravated, and the crisis of rebellion accelerated, by an act of flagrant injustice. Many inhabitants of the Valteline suspected of favouring the Spanish court, and particularly those, who had opposed with the greatest zeal the introduction of the Reformed doctrines, were arrested, and conveyed into the country of the Grisons. Mock courts of justice were established in several places, by which the prisoners were fined to a large amount; and some were even wantonly sentenced to the torture.

* They were (as they are at present) independent of the civil authority for all delinquencies, and amenable only to the bishop of Coire.

AMONG the sufferers was Nicholas Rufca, a priest of Sondrio, who had gained the universal esteem of the Catholics, by his unremitted resistance to the Protestant doctrines, and who, for the rigid austerity of his manners, was revered by the multitude as a saint. The death * of this person so much respected, amidst the most excruciating torments, raised a spirit of fury among the people too violent to be appeased. The emissaries of Spain did not fail to increase the general ferment, and to suggest the most plausible motives for immediate insurrection. They represented, that, as the Grisons were convulsed by factions, and France disturbed by intestine commotions, a most favourable opportunity presented itself to shake off the yoke under which they groaned: animated by these suggestions, the inhabitants determined to commence hostilities by a general massacre of the Protestants.

THE 20th of July, 1620, was the day appointed for the perpetration of this horrid design. At dead of night Robustelli, the leader of the conspiracy, accompanied by about a hundred followers, arrived at Tirano, and having assembled the chief Catholics of the place, laid before them the intention of extirpating the Protestants: the dreadful proposal was embraced with all the zeal of resentment, inflamed by fanaticism. At break of day the signal for the massacre being given by ringing the bells; great part of the inhabitants issued from their houses, and repaired to the marketplace with terror and anxiety. In this moment of per-

* See Letter 80.

plexity the conspirators fell upon the Protestants, and encouraged the people to follow their example, by destroying the enemies of the Catholic faith. Few words being necessary to exasperate an incensed and superstitious multitude; every person seizing the first arms which presented themselves, scoured the streets, stormed the houses, and assassinated the Protestants.

DURING this dreadful scene, the podesta, his family, and some of the principal Protestants took refuge in the town-house, and barricaded the doors: the Catholics, however, soon forced a passage, and burst into the apartments where the fugitives were collected. Their fury was for a moment suspended, at the affecting sight of the podesta and his wife upon their knees, presenting their infant children with uplifted arms. But such was the implacable barbarity of the enraged multitude, who demanded with repeated instances the death of the podesta and his family, that this short respite was of no avail, and only served to embitter their fate: they were first imprisoned, and then put to death, without distinction of sex or age.

THE next scene of the massacre was exhibited at Teglio, whither some of the conspirators were dispatched from Tirano: they were dressed in red, as a signal to the inhabitants that the rising at Tirano had succeeded. The Catholics soon collected themselves into a body, and repaired to the church, where the Protestants were assembled for the celebration of divine service. One of them levelled his piece against the minister, who was preaching; but missing his aim,

aim, the Protestants rose up, drove out the Catholics, and barricadoed the doors. The assassins then climbed up to the windows, and shot from the outside upon the crowded audience; the doors at length being burst open, all the Protestants were put to the sword, excepting those who renounced their religion.

ANOTHER party of Catholics made their way towards Sondrio, where the governor of the Valteline resided. That magistrate, being apprised of their design, ordered the inhabitants to take arms, and summoned the people of the neighbouring district to his assistance: in obedience to this injunction, both Protestants and Catholics began to assemble, but the former were intercepted, and destroyed. Some attempting to escape towards Engadina and Pregalia were overtaken in their flight, and involved in the common ruin. Even the women laid aside the natural softness of their sex, and, hardened by superstition, practised every species of outrage upon the bodies of the deceased. Mean while the Catholic troops entered Sondrio, and exciting their partisans with the cry of "*Down with the enemies of the Catholic faith!*" made a general slaughter of the unhappy Protestants. Mercy, however, was extended to the governor and his family, in a manner which does honour to the chiefs of the revolt who conducted the attack of Sondrio. He was first imprisoned, but afterwards, in consideration that he had always treated the Catholics with mildness, was dismissed with his family, and escorted in safety to the confines of the Valteline.

It would be shocking to humanity to enumerate all the particulars of this savage massacre, or to trace its devastation in the several towns of the Valteline. It continued, without intermission, for three successive days; nor were its horrid effects confined merely to those who were assassinated upon the spot. Many who had escaped into the country were hunted down like wild beasts; others, after eluding the fury of their pursuers, were consumed by hunger and fatigue; and numerous dead bodies were discovered in the woods, caverns, and torrents. Several Catholics, who were allied to the Protestants, shared in the general disaster; even women and infants were slain in the most deliberate manner. Some Protestants saved their lives by abjuring their religion, and many, who refused to purchase their safety by this concession, were burnt alive. In the midst of this dreadful carnage, one instance of singular humanity deserves to be recorded. Bartholemeo Peretti, the principal Catholic at Berbeno, being exhorted to put all the Protestants of that town to death, apprised them of their danger, and assisted them in effecting an escape. But this act of clemency was the occasion of his own destruction, and he was executed as an enemy to religion. All the Protestants being either destroyed or driven out of the country, the remaining inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the Grisons, and framing a new form of government, threw themselves under the protection of the king of Spain, who sent an army to their support. The people of Bormio followed the example of the Valteline, with this difference, that they did not massacre, but only expelled the Protestants. Having entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the inhabitants of this valley,

valley, they also erected themselves into an independent commonwealth.

THE Grisons, divided among themselves, were totally unequal to the chastisement of their revolted subjects. The Catholics were desirous of employing the mediation of Spain, for the purpose of recovering the Valteline; the Protestants, inclined to vigorous measures, proposed an application to the Swiss cantons, Venice, and France. After violent dissensions, which were not terminated without bloodshed, the Protestant interest prevailed, and a deputation was sent to the powers above-mentioned.

ZURIC and Berne instantly dispatched a body of troops, while the Catholic cantons refused to act against those of the same persuasion with themselves. Venice, alarmed at the growing power of the House of Austria, and desirous of a passage through the Valteline, gave a flattering answer to the request of the Grisons, but, with a spirit of delay natural to a republic, deferred sending any actual succour. France too, having just emerged from a civil war, was more disposed to negotiate than to act with decision. Baffompierre was dispatched to Madrid to solicit the restitution of the Valteline; and although a league was concluded between the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the republic of Venice, to assist the Grisons unless the Valteline was restored; yet all that could be obtained from the Spaniards was, that the forts of the valley should be placed in the hands of the pope: but as the pope was a secret partisan of the House of Austria, and inclined to favour the rebellion of the Valteline, it was evi-

dent that he would restore the forts to the Spaniards upon the first opportunity. In this interval the united troops of the Grisons, Zuric, and Berne, being defeated with great slaughter; the Valteline seemed upon the point of being forever dismembered from the Grisons, when the French court suddenly changed its plan of operation, entered into the war with a zeal as sincere as it was politic, and vigorously interposed in behalf of the Grisons.

THIS revolution in the French politics was owing to the ascendancy of Cardinal Richelieu, who no sooner began to preside in the cabinet, than the kingdom seemed to awake from that deep lethargy, into which it had sunk during the feeble administrations of Ancres and Luynes. That great minister instantly perceived the importance of the Valteline; without wasting a moment in deliberation, he demanded an immediate restitution of that country, and enforced this demand by sending a detachment of troops to the assistance of the Grisons, under the command of the marquis de Couvres. The general, animated with the spirit of the new minister, penetrated into these parts; joined his army to the Swiss and Grisons, and in two campaigns drove the Spaniards from the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio. The two latter provinces were immediately restored; but when the Grison deputies repaired to the French general at Sondrio, to demand the cession of the Valteline, Couvres proposed, that the exercise of the Protestant religion should be abolished throughout the valley; that the inhabitants should appoint their own magistrates, and pay a yearly tribute of 20,000 crowns; and he shewed himself so strongly inclined to

to circumscribe the authority of the Grifons over the inhabitants of the Valteline, that he was suspected of being bribed by the latter. But it soon appeared, that this conduct was occasioned by directions from his court, and proceeded from a reconciliation, which, unknown to the Grifons, had taken place between the kings of France and Spain.

RICHELIEU, the soul of the French monarchy, having now brought to maturity his project for subjugating the Hugonots, was too great a politician to be embarrassed with a foreign war at the eve of a civil commotion; and well aware, that he could not maintain possession of the Valteline without an expence of troops, which he could ill spare, temporised for the moment, and made overtures to Philip the Fourth. Philip, harrassed by the long continuance of hostilities, seemed equally desirous of an accommodation: accordingly preliminaries of a new treaty were immediately adjusted by the contracting powers, at Mossion in Arragon. It was agreed that the Valteline should again be restored to the Grifons under the following conditions: that no other religion but the Roman Catholic should be tolerated; that the inhabitants should elect their own governors and magistrates, either from themselves or from the Grifons, but always from persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion; that the governors should be confirmed by the Grifons. In return for these privileges, it was stipulated that the inhabitants should pay an annual tribute, the amount of which was to be settled by mediation. In consequence of this treaty, concluded on the 5th of March, 1626, the French resigned
the

the forts of the Valteline into the hands of the pope, and evacuated the country.

IN conformity to this alliance, the inhabitants having elected Robustelli, who began the massacre, for their governor, and appointed twelve magistrates, sent a deputation to Coire to demand the confirmation of the Grisons. The Grisons, however, were by no means disposed to accede to a treaty so destructive to the rights of sovereignty, which they possessed over the Valteline. Openly excited by the Republic of Venice, and secretly encouraged by the French minister, they refused to acknowledge the treaty of Mossion. But as they were not in a state to support their claims upon the Valteline by force of arms, they could only remonstrate and negotiate, without producing any immediate effect.

AFFAIRS continued in this state for three years; until Richelieu, having completed the reduction of the Hugonots by the taking of Rochelle, found himself in a situation to turn the whole force of France against the House of Austria; the diminution of whose power he had long meditated. He now threw off the mask: the dominions of the House of Austria were invaded on all sides, and every part of Europe became the theatre of his vast designs. Among other enterprises, the Valteline engaged no inconsiderable share of his attention. The duke of Rohan was dispatched to the Grisons with a formidable army, and having worsted the Spanish troops in various encounters, dispossessed them of the Valteline.

UPON

UPON this decisive success, the French abated much of their sollicitude for the interests of the Grisons; and although they began the war with a positive demand of an unconditional restitution of the Valteline, yet they were no sooner in possession of the country, than they again professed, as on the former conquest, a great tenderness for the privileges of the inhabitants. They refused to surrender their acquisition to the Grisons, unless upon terms more favourable to the people than had been offered even by the treaty of Mossion. The Grisons having no prospect of assistance from any other quarter, found themselves under a necessity of acceding to these humiliating stipulations. The French, with a view probably of retaining the Valteline in their own hands, continued to delay its restitution, and clogged every subsequent negotiation for that purpose with conditions still more unfavourable.

THE Spaniards, artfully availing themselves of these circumstances, held out to the Grisons the most flattering overtures of accommodation. Encouraged by these well-timed offers, and incensed at the repeated instances of duplicity they had lately experienced, the Grisons rose up in arms, and drove the French from the Valteline. The treaty of Milan was the consequence of this revolution; a close alliance was concluded between the Spaniards and the Grisons; and the Valteline was restored, under the guarantie of that very power, which had originally excited the inhabitants to revolt. This treaty, contracted in the year 1635, secured to the Spaniards the passage of the valley, which
had

had been the great object of the war, and restored the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Grisons, under the following articles: An act of oblivion; the immunities of the subject countries to be confirmed as they existed before the revolution of 1620; no other religion but the Catholic to be tolerated therein; no person of any other persuasion to be permitted to reside, excepting the governors, during the two years they should continue in office, and the Protestants possessed of lands, who should not be allowed to remain in the country above three months in the year; the privileges of the ecclesiastics to be restored in their full latitude.

A FEW alterations were made in the government of the Valley, and some regulations introduced, for the purpose of stemming the torrent of injustice and corruption, that prevailed in the courts of justice before the revolution: they consisted chiefly in a new method of nominating the governors, and in the creation of the office of assessor. The articles were guaranteed by Spain, and inserted in the capitulation, or treaty, ratified in 1639, at Milan, in the presence of the deputies from the Valteline.

THE deputies reproached the Spaniards, for having summoned them to Milan, in order to be present, in silence and with tears, at the subversion of their liberty; and when the treaty was announced to the inhabitants of the Valteline, a general despair spread itself through all ranks. The people universally lamented that they had been deluded into a revolt under a promise of protection; that they had expended,
during

during this fatal war, above twenty-five millions of florins*, for no other purpose than to procure an alliance between Spain and the Grisons, and to be restored to their original masters, exasperated by their revolt, and preparing to renew the former acts of injustice and tyranny which had driven them to rebellion. Nor were these murmurs ill-grounded; for, except the total exclusion of the Protestant religion, no material alteration was made in the fate of this valley. Since this treaty the laws have been no less perverted than before, the exactions of the governors have continued as exorbitant, and the courts of justice as iniquitous and corrupt. The change in the administration of justice has proved no alleviation; the creation of the assessor's office served only to give the sanction of law to the most iniquitous proceedings, or to vary the mode of oppression. This innovation has been moreover attended with this bad effect to the bulk of the inhabitants, that whereas, before the rebellion, the nobles were principally subject to the rapacity of the Grison judges; since the pacification, the people have become more exposed to exactions.

I HAVE thus brought down the history of the Valteline to the pacification of 1637. Since that period no material change has taken place in the situation of affairs. The sovereigns of Milan have always cultivated the friendship of the Grisons; and the inhabitants of this valley, having no power to resort to for protection, have endured a regular course of oppression under the government of a free state.

* Near £. 2,000,000 sterling.

LETTER 76.

GOVERNMENT OF THE VALTELINE.

THE geographical division of the Valteline is into three principal districts, and the political into five governments. The three districts are, 1. *Terzero di Sopra*, or the Upper District. 2. *Terzero di Mezzo*, or the Middle District. 3. *Terzero di Sotto*, or the Lower District. The five governments are, 1. Of the Upper District. 2. Of the Middle District, called also the Government of Sondrio. 3. Of Toglio. 4. Of Morbegno. 5. Of Traona.

EACH of these five governments is subject to a magistrate appointed by the Grisons, who is changed every two years. The magistrate over the Middle District is called *governor* of the Valteline, and possesses in some respect a superior degree of authority to the others, who are styled *podestas*. He is also captain general of the Valteline.

BUT before I proceed to explain the form of government, it may be necessary to lay before you the method of electing the governor and *podestas*, to whom the Grisons delegate their authority over the Valteline. In the year 1602, the venality and injustice of these magistrates had arisen to such an excessive height, that some remedy seemed absolutely necessary. The cause of this injustice was evidently derived from

from the public sale of the governments, and the share of the fines for criminal offences, which were partly appropriated to the Grisons, and partly to the governors*. In order to prevent corruption in the distribution of the offices, and exaction in the governors, two important changes were made. Instead of one person being appointed to fill the vacant office, four candidates were nominated by the community, to whom the turn of election belonged, and these four drew lots for the charge. But this alteration would have been attended with few beneficial effects, if it had not been followed by another, namely, that the stipend of the governors should be tripled, and that they should have no share in the fines: yet these salutary regulations, as they prevented the Grisons from selling the governments at so high a price, were a few years afterwards abolished by the diet. In order, however, to preserve some appearances of impartiality in the choice of the magistrates, it was stipulated in the treaty of Milan, that three candidates should be nominated by the community to whom the election belongs, and that one of these should be appointed by the diet. Yet this mode is a mere formality: three are always presented; but the diet never fails to nominate the person recommended by the community. These magistracies are allowed to be openly purchased: in general, part of the money is assigned to the public fund of the community, and the remainder is distributed among the body of the people, in whom the right of election is vested, and whose votes are seldom obtained without additional

* It is necessary to apprise the reader, that when I use the word *governor* simply, I apply it indiscriminately to the governor of the Valteline and the four *podestas*.

bribes. It will easily be imagined what a dreadful scene of * corruption is opened by this mode of proceeding; and how frequently persons are appointed to the governments, who are totally inadequate to the discharge of their trust.

THESE magistrates, as representatives of the sovereign state, enjoy the supreme authority, and are entrusted with the power of life and death; and if they are apparently controlled by the laws, they devise means to evade them. But their authority will be best understood from a detail of the civil and criminal courts of justice established in this country.

THE criminal tribunal is composed of the governor, vicar, and assessor. The governor arrests, imprisons, and examines the delinquent: though, according to the letter of the law, no examination ought to be made but in the presence of the vicar and assessor. The criminal being convicted, and the sentence passed, the governor enjoys the power of remitting

* All authors, both natives and foreigners, who have written upon the Grisons, have not failed to enumerate the ill effects resulting from this sale of governments, which is authorised by law; but none have expressed their disapprobation in stronger terms than Fortunatus Juvalta, in the following passage, from a manuscript account of the Grisons:

Qui ad honores et præsertim ad quæstus illas præfecturas aspirabant, non aliter quam ambitu et largitionibus voti compotes fierent. Omnia enim venalia prestabant, non secus ac aliæ merces.

Neque vero privati tantum homines merci-

monia illa exercebant, sed communitates integræ etiam cauponabantur, neque erubescabant præfecturam communitatis cum legationibus ad dietas seu conventus publicos, quarum in ipsorum manu erat electio, cum officiis ad subditos et aliis emolumentis communitati provenientius, consilio publico, solenniter, constituto pretio in multos annos vendere, et ne quid ambigi posset, publicis tabulis perscriptis consignare. Indignæ prorsus auræ libertate, utpote quæ illam tam turpiter et scelerate profanarent ac prostituerent. Emtores isti emebant, ut carius venderent, ideoque ubi spes aliqua lucri affulgebat, merces suas venales exponebant, et plus offerentibus addicebant.

OR

or diminishing the punishment, excepting in cases of high treason, premeditated murder, or such enormous crimes. He has a small annual stipend paid by the Valteline, but the chief part of his income is derived from the fines for criminal offences, of which he receives two-thirds. In all trials he is bound to follow the penal statutes, which are drawn up with great precision and clearness.

THE vicar is always a Grison; and he is chosen by rotation from the several communities, in the following manner: Three candidates are presented to the inhabitants of the Valteline, who appoint one of them to the vacant office. This mode was adopted in the treaty of 1639, in order to check corruption, but it has not been attended with the desired effect. The community, in whose turn it is to elect the three candidates, leaves to the person who has purchased the office the power of nominating his two associates; and the diet, in delivering in the three names, recommends the person who had been previously designed by the community, and this recommendation is always accepted by the Valteline. The vicar ought to attend in person all trials when the governor examines the prisoners; but this custom is now fallen into disuse, and in lieu of his attendance, he receives an annual sum of 1127 Grison florins, about £. 83, from the governor of the Valteline and each of the four *podestas*: a shameful elusion, as the vicar was designed to be a kind of counsel in favour of the prisoner, and to prevent injustice in the mode of examination. When the prisoner is convicted, an account of the process is laid before the vicar, who must confirm the sentence. Torture, for the purpose
of

of forcing confession, cannot be inflicted without his consent, and in his presence, which is never dispensed with. Besides a small salary, and the above-mentioned annual sum of 1127 florins, as a premium for not attending at the trials, he has a stated allowance, as well for every consultation, as for every time that he is present at the infliction of torture.

THE assessor must be an inhabitant of the Valteline: he is nominated by the vicar from three candidates, chosen reciprocally from each of the three Terzeros. His vote is necessary to concur with the vicar in ordering torture: he must also attend when it is applied, and must confirm the sentence passed against the convicted persons. He has no regular salary, but his profits depend upon the number of processes in which he is consulted. This is the only office which gives to the inhabitants of the Valteline any share in the criminal jurisprudence. The assessor, according to the original intention of the statutes, ought to be a person well versed in the laws of the country, and should be considered as an advocate for the accused; but as he is obliged to the vicar for his nomination *, he is commonly his creature, and seldom gives his vote in opposition to him. Nor indeed is it yet a decided point, whether the concurrence of the assessor is absolutely necessary for passing a definitive sentence. The case is without precedent, but was once very near being brought to a decision. The assessor differed from the opinion of the governor and vicar, and refused to give his concurrence for the

* Usually the assessor either pays the vicar for his appointment, or else delivers him all his regular fees of office.

conviction

conviction and punishment of a criminal. In this dilemma the affair was referred successively to the two other candidates for the assessorship, who had been presented to the vicar for his nomination. Notwithstanding they agreed with the assessor, it was still disputed whether the assessor, as a servant of the vicar, could act in direct opposition to his opinion, and prevail against him. The case was so extraordinary, that it was proposed to appeal to the diet; but some of the chief nobles of the Valteline, concluding, that the Grisons would decide in favour of their own representatives, induced the vicar to drop the appeal; and the affair was compromised without coming to a decision.

SUCH is the general theory of the criminal jurisprudence in this country, by which it appears that the power of the governor is limited as well by the strict letter of the law, as by the interference of the vicar and assessor, whose concurrence is necessary for passing a final sentence. But this limitation exists only in theory; for the laws are easily eluded, and even made subservient to the conviction of the innocent as well as the guilty. The vicar and assessor, be they ever so upright, can hardly prevent the oppression of the judges; and if they are themselves rapacious, they receive their share of the plunder, by conniving at the governor's injustice.

HAVING gained some insight into the practice of the courts of justice, I shall lay before you the general mode of proceeding, from arresting the criminal to his final sentence, interspersing the account with occasional remarks, which
will

will serve to shew the abuses introduced into the administration of justice.

THE governor sends out the order of arrest, and commits the criminal to prison. He detains him in confinement as long as he pleases, delaying or hastening the inquiry as he thinks fit. The examination is secret, no one being present but the governor, or his substitute, and the notary, who writes down the process. It must be evident to all, with how much ease persons versed in the arts of chicanery can brow-beat the ignorant, and perplex the prisoners, who are allowed no counsel. When the criminal is found guilty, whatever is his crime, he may make a composition with the governor, before the case is referred to the vicar; or, in other words, as the examination is secret, the governor can dress out the process in the most favourable manner, and may give what explanation to the affair he pleases.

IF no composition is made, the case is laid before the vicar and the assessor, who are obliged to give their vote according to the letter of the law; and as the statutes are very severe, the penalties are either heavy fines or corporal punishment. In the former circumstance, the governor receives two-thirds of the fine; and, as in the latter, he has the power of remitting the punishment, excepting for the most atrocious crimes, he generally accepts a commutation in money, if the prisoner is able to pay it. By these means most offences may be easily compounded for; a circumstance which empowers the rich to commit crimes with impunity. It is, however, a matter of little consequence to the governor whether

whether the prisoner is rich or poor : in the first instance he may receive a composition from the prisoner himself, in the latter from the parish. For, in case the punishment for the crime is corporal, the expences attending it are considerable, as the executioner of Coire must inflict it ; for which reason the governor generally remits the penalty, and receives from the parish a composition in money, somewhat less than the expences of inflicting corporal punishment would have been attended with.

WE may add to the list of grievances abovementioned, the power possessed by the magistrates of delegating their authority without residing in the government. If the delegate is a Grifon, he is called *Affistente*, if an inhabitant of the Valteline, *Tenente*. He either purchases the fines and perquisites upon a calculation of their average value, or is responsible for them to the governor. In some places the delegation is almost always bought by the same person, who resides upon the spot, and becomes as it were a perpetual judge. In others a society of persons join to purchase the profits of the magistracy ; they appoint the nominal delegate, and secretly direct the processes. Such a delegation may be called a settled tyranny, and according to the expression of an elegant author *, “ *establishes a wholesale traffic between criminals and courts of justice.*”

FROM this general view of the criminal jurisprudence of the Valteline, we may readily infer the wretched situation of

* Eden's Principles of Penal Law, p. 61.

the inhabitants; where the supreme magistrate purchases a temporary office at an exorbitant price, and has an inadequate salary; where the principal profits of his charge arise from the fines for criminal offences; where it is his interest to arraign and to convict; and where he is himself the interpreter of the laws, of which he is commonly ignorant, the accuser of the party, and the judge.

I HAVE already mentioned the power which the governor enjoys of pardoning all offences except the most atrocious crimes. A pardon of this sort is called *liberatione*; and there are printed papers that contain its form, in which blank spaces are left for the name of the person, for the crime committed, for the date, and for the signature of the judge. I enclose a copy of a liberation *: it brings to my recollection those acts of indulgence, which the Catholics obtain

* The following is the form of a liberation :

Podestà Regente della Giurisdizione di Tirano,
e sue Pertinenze, &c. Giudice de Malefici
con Mero, e Misto Impero, e con
Autorità di Spada, &c.

Per tenor della presente, ed in ogni altro miglior modo, &c. abbiamo liberato ed assolto, siccome liberiamo ed assolviamo, libero ed assolto essere vogliamo, e dichiariamo, che sia.

Here the name of the person is inserted.

da ogni, e qualsivisa pena pecuniaria, arbitraria, o afflittiva del Corpo, nella quale sia incorso, o abbia potuto incorrere per avere.

Here the crime is mentioned.

Item. Da ogni altra cosa annessa, com-

meffa; incidente; risultante; emergente, e dipendente dalle premesse, &c. Però cassando, &c. annullando, &c. commandando, &c. imponendo, &c. restituendo, &c. supplendo, &c. Essendo Noi alla suddetta Liberazione divenuti attesa l'Autorità, con cui, &c. ed attesa una tenue composizione con Noi, in nome ancora dell' E. C. D. fatta, e pagataci.

Dat. in Tirano dal Pretorio questo
giorno anno

from

from Rome for the absolution of their sins : with this difference, that the latter refers to a future state, the former to this life. The price of these pardons varies according to the magnitude of the crime, the condition of the person who committed it, and more particularly the time in which it is granted ; for the sum is greater when a governor first enters upon his office, than when he is retiring from it. Sometimes, during the last two or three hours previous to the expiration of the office, pardons may be procured at the lowest rate ; and I was assured from very good authority, that a liberation for homicide has not unfrequently been obtained for about four-pence.

Do not suppose that this account of the venality which reigns throughout the Valteline is heightened, for I have taken great pains to ascertain the truth, and it has been confirmed to me by persons of all ranks, both in the Grison and subject countries. Nor will you be led to imagine that all the governors are equally rapacious and unjust. Like the Roman proconsuls, some carry their rapine to the height, others are less exacting, and a few are free even from the most distant imputation of injustice.

THE civil courts of justice remain to be considered. Although the governor presides in these courts and passes sentence, yet by a singular privilege the cause is not always left to his absolute decision. He examines the witnesses, and makes out the process ; but, at the request of either party, the cause may be referred to an arbitrator, who is called *Savio*. He is either nominated by the plaintiff and defen-

dant; or, if they cannot agree, is chosen by lot in the following manner: The plaintiff and defendant appoint each six persons; from the six appointed by the defendant the plaintiff selects one; the defendant nominates one of the six chosen by the plaintiff; and these two persons draw lots who shall be arbitrator. He then examines the acts of the process, gives his opinion, which is called in the statutes of the country *Il Consiglio del Savio*, and the governor is bound to submit to his decision. The obligation of the governor to follow the opinion of the arbitrator is so strong, that according to the statutes, if he refuses to pass sentence, the opinion of the Savio is *ipso facto* a decision.

FROM this decision there lies an appeal to two arbitrators called *Probi*, who are appointed by the parties in the manner abovementioned: should they disagree, then the two parties amicably nominate a counsellor, who accedes to one of the *Probi*; and this sentence is final, if it concurs with that of the Savio; but otherwise, there lies a farther appeal either to the syndicate or diet, and ultimately to the several communities of the three leagues. When the governor decides in the first instance he receives three *per cent.* of the contested property, but only one *per cent.* when recourse is had to arbitration, the other two *per cent.* being paid to the Savio. By this singular privilege of referring to arbitration in all causes of property, the civil courts of justice are not open to such corruption as the criminal tribunals; and yet venality has taken so deep a root in the affairs of this unhappy country, that bribery finds its way even into the civil tribunals. When the civil causes are brought in the governor's court,
and

and decided by him, without the intervention of the Savio and Probi, there lies an appeal to the syndicate, a body whose office I shall now explain.

At the end of every two years, when the magistracies expire, syndicates are appointed by the Republic of the Grisons, for the purpose of inquiring into the administration of the several governors, and of hearing appeals from their decisions. This court is composed of nine members, including the president; they are chosen reciprocally by the communities, three from each league. They make a circuit into each of the subject provinces; send out proclamations, that they are ready to receive all accusations against the governors, examine witnesses, decide all appeals, and can mitigate all fines imposed, without the concurrence of the vicar and affessor. They do not, however, finally determine in civil causes, in the last resort, which may be referred from their decision to the diet. The syndicate, which was intended to oppose corruption and injustice, is nevertheless the great support of both. Nor can it be otherwise; for the syndics purchase their office from the several communities; and as their salary is very small, they can only reimburse themselves by receiving bribes from the judges or from the appellants. Their office is bought for a greater or smaller sum, as there are more or less appeals of consequence to be submitted to their arbitration. And what is pregnant with still greater abuses, when a cause of great importance is to be referred to the syndicate, the governors frequently purchase from the several communities, in whose right the election is for that time vested, the power of nominating the syndics, and

and of course appoint their own creatures. Hence this court is become so corrupt as to give rise to a proverb, "*as venal as the syndicate.*"

HAVING thus endeavoured to draw a general sketch of the civil and criminal jurisprudence in this country, I shall now mention the domestic administration of affairs. All public concerns, which do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Grisons, are discussed and determined by a council composed of five representatives, one from each district, which meet as occasion requires at Sondrio. Previous to its sitting, the public notary writes to the several parishes of the five governments, informing them of the business to be transacted: each parish has its meeting, in which every householder possesses a vote; and each district has its assembly composed of deputies from the several parishes, who choose the representatives. In all affairs of importance, the representatives are bound to vote in conformity to instructions received from their constituents, and all transactions are decided by a majority of voices. The council is empowered to demand a redress of grievances from the Grisons, and to remonstrate against infractions of the privileges granted to the inhabitants by the Capitulation of Milan. The governor of the Valteline is present, but has no vote.

THE tribute which the Valteline pays to the Grisons is so small, the salaries of the governors so inconsiderable, and all duties so trifling, that most writers, who have had occasion to mention this valley, have described it as the most happy and the least oppressed of all subject provinces; without reflecting,

flecting, that notwithstanding these advantages, the country is annually drained of a sum very disproportionate to the ability of the inhabitants. It is difficult to ascertain the exact amount of this sum, as it arises chiefly from the secret as well as public profits of the courts of justice. But when we consider that the greatest part is procured by extortion; that scarcely any distinction is made between innocence and guilt; that great crimes are committed with impunity, and petty offences are severely punished; we may add, that the mode of exaction is more detrimental to the country than the loss of the specie itself; inasmuch as a corrupt administration of justice is the worst of all oppressions.

THE clergy of the Valteline are not responsible to the ordinary courts of justice, their immunities being so exorbitant as to render them almost independent of the civil authority. They are only amenable to the court of the bishop of Como. If a priest is guilty of any misdemeanor, his person cannot be secured without the concurrence of the bishop, and governor of the district in which the crime was committed. It is therefore extremely difficult to bring an ecclesiastic to justice, as impunity is easily purchased, either by securing the favour of the bishop's vicar or of the magistrate. Nor are these pernicious privileges confined merely to the clergy, but extend to all persons wearing an ecclesiastical dress, by the permission of the bishop of Como.

THE Grisons have frequently endeavoured to annihilate these immunities, but always without effect. The nobles of the Valteline are interested to support the privileges of the clergy,

clergy, because they can easily procure the permission of wearing the ecclesiastical dress, and because they can secure their property, by leaving their estates to the clergy at the extinction of all the heirs named in the succession. Such estates, called *beneficia gentilitia*, are very common in the Valteline, and cannot be seized for debt, or confiscated. All civil causes of the clergy, below the value of two hundred livres *, are decided by the vicar of the bishop of Como: above that sum they are brought before the bishop. An appeal from his decision lies to the pope's nuncio at Lucern, from him to the ecclesiastical tribunal at Aquileia, and from thence to Rome.

* Sixty-four Valteline livres = a pound sterling.

L E T T E R 77.

TEGLIO—SONDRIO—ANECDOTES OF THE PAINTER
LIGARIO—MORBEGNO—DELEBIO.

INSTEAD of proceeding by the nearest road from Tirano to Sondrio, I made a circuit by Teggio, passed over the plain of Tirano, rich in all the productions of nature, and continued for some way at the foot of the northern ridge of mountains, which are highly cultivated to their very summits. Lower towards the south-east, and further towards the north-east, the tops of the rugged Alps make their appearance, glistening with snow. The country was a continued vineyard, and the soil is so fertile, that corn, millet, flax, and hemp, are sown among the vines, which hang over them in beautiful festoons. Every village is adorned with a thick grove of chestnut-trees, whose rich and dark foliage produces a pleasing effect.

TEGLIO, the capital of the government of the same name, is situated upon the top of a mountain, about nine miles from Tirano, and twelve from Sondrio. It is a long straggling place, and contains about three hundred houses. Close to the town are the ruins of a fortress standing upon an insulated rock, and formerly esteemed of great strength. This elevated spot commands a very rich and extensive prospect from Tirano to the lower part of the valley beyond Sondrio, as far as Morbegno. The government of Teggio is

said to comprise the twelfth part of the Valteline: it is the most populous district, and contains about eight thousand souls. It produces in a good season much more corn than is sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants, and rivals Sondrio and Tirano in the goodness of its wine. Finding little at Teglio but the face of the country to excite curiosity, I proceeded in my journey to Sondrio, through a tract highly cultivated, and descended by a gentle slope to the bed of the Adda, which roars through the plain, sometimes confined in a narrow channel, sometimes expanding itself in a wider bed, and threatening the country with continual inundations.

SONDRIO is the capital of the valley, the residence of the governor of the Valteline and of the vicar; but, like all the towns in this valley, it has a deserted aspect: there is little appearance of trade, and no animation. The town, partly built in a plain, and partly upon the sides of a rock, is placed in a very romantic situation, at the extremity of a narrow valley, and occupies both sides of the Malenco, a furious torrent which frequently overflows its banks. Many of the houses are very ancient; for I observed the arms of the Visconti, formerly the sovereigns of this country, painted upon their walls; these arms, representing an enormous serpent crushing a man between his teeth, are too remarkable to escape observation.

THE Valteline, from its neighbourhood to Italy, has imbibed a taste for the fine arts, and there are many collections of pictures which are not unworthy of notice. This country,

country, however, has produced few artists of any eminence. Pietro Ligario is almost the only painter who deserves to be mentioned, and his name is scarcely known beyond the limits of the Valteline.

LIGARIO was born at Sondrio in 1686, of the ancient family of Ligario, which took its name from a neighbouring village of that appellation. Having discovered a lively genius, and a taste for the elegant arts, he was sent when very young to Rome, under the care of Lazaro Baldi, from whom he learnt that exactness of design which characterises the Roman school. From thence he repaired to Venice, where he passed some time in studying that exquisite colouring, for which the Venetian masters are so remarkably distinguished. He made himself first known at Milan, where he met with some encouragement; and in 1727 he returned to the Valteline. He found, however, but little employment, until he was honoured with the patronage of Count Defalis, Envoy from Great Britain to the Republic of the Grisons. As he rose in reputation, his business increased; but, being always very poor, he was frequently compelled to finish his productions with such haste, as rendered it impossible to give all of them that perfection, which he was capable of bestowing. Hence arises that inequality which is so remarkable in his paintings.

THERE is scarcely a church in the Valteline which does not possess one of his pictures: the most capital of his pieces are the martyrdom of St. Gregory, in one of the churches at Sondrio, and St. Benedict, in the chapel of a nunnery near

the town. These were his latest performances; and as they were, contrary to his usual custom, finished with great labour and exactness, may be considered as the test, from which we ought to estimate his abilities as a painter. The figures are well grouped, the principal characters distinctly marked, and the expression of the heads is admirable: the style of colouring is lively without being gaudy, and chaste without being dull. A few days after he had painted St. Benedict, he was seized with a violent fever, and expired in 1752, in the 67th year of his age.

LIGARIO is described by the connoisseurs as a painter who united correctness of design to beauty of colouring. He is remarkable for grouping his figures to the best advantage, and his heads are drawn with a noble simplicity. He is, however, represented as too much inclined to an imitation of the antique: his figures often resemble statues; and the folds of his drapery fall with too much precision, like the wet drapery in the sculpture of the ancients. The character of his faces is chiefly Grecian; but it is remarked, that they are too similar to each other, and look like the portraits of persons who are of the same family; a circumstance not unusual to those, who too servilely copy the antique.

BESIDE painting, Ligario was skilled in music, mechanics, and agriculture, and has left behind him specimens of no ordinary acquaintance with each of those arts. He made, for his own amusement, an organ of very large dimensions, and constructed a clock with a cylindrical pendulum; remarkable for the accuracy of its movements. He was fond of

of rearing plants and simples, and was so much attached to the study of agriculture, that he wrote instructions to his family, upon the cheapest and best method of cultivation. He endeavoured to infuse into his son and daughter, Cæsar and Victoria, a fondness for the polite arts. They both followed their father's profession, but although not without some degree of merit, they failed of equalling his reputation. Victoria was chiefly distinguished for her skill in vocal and instrumental music.

I RODE this morning to see the painting of St. Benedict, at the nunnery about a mile and an half from Sondrio. The abbess, hearing that a foreigner was in the chapel, sent a message, desiring the favour of my company. Upon entering the parlour, I made my obeisance to the abbess, who, in company with two nuns, was seated on the other side of the grate. After the usual compliments, and inquiries if the picture pleased me, wine and cakes were brought in. The wine was the produce of their own vineyards, and was excellent. The cakes were shaped like skulls and bones.

THE abbess and her companions behaved with great ease and politeness; asked many questions relating to England, natural to persons sequestered from society; and one of them apologized for their curiosity, by remarking, that women were not less inquisitive or less fond of talking, because they were shut up in a nunnery. The person who made this remark was pale, but not unhealthy; her figure was remarkably fine, and she had been very handsome; a disappointment in love, as I am informed, first induced her to
take

take the veil, and to bury so much beauty and elegance in a convent. Struck with her manner and address, I could not help wishing she may never live to regret such a step, and that she may feel all that ease and tranquillity of mind, which are expected, but not always found, by those who take the veil.

I AM just returned to Sondrio, from a small excursion to Morbegno and towards the extremity of the Valteline as far as Delebio. Near Sondrio the valley is about two miles in breadth, and remarkably fertile in vines and all kinds of grain. The right-hand chain of mountains is clothed almost from the bottom to its summit with a continued vineyard, which is esteemed to yield the best wine in the Valteline. I rode along the plain which stretches, without interruption, from Sondrio to the lake of Como. The middle part of this plain is occupied, and frequently overflowed by the unruly Adda, and being marshy yields nothing but coarse pasturage. The sides rise gradually into gentle acclivities, and display a rich variety of natural productions.

MORBEGNO lies on the left side of the Adda, at the foot of the southernmost chain. It is the handsomest town in the Valteline, and appears to have more shops, and to carry on more trade, than all the others united. Mr. Planta the present podesta of Morbegno, no sooner heard of my arrival, than he politely waited upon me at the inn, and invited me to his house. Finding that I was desirous of proceeding to Delebio, he insisted upon accompanying me; and having ordered his carriage without delay, proposed an immediate

mediate departure, that we might return to his house by supper. Mr. Planta is the same person to whom I was obliged for so hospitable a reception at his house at Cernetz; and it gives me much satisfaction to hear from all quarters, that he may be reckoned among the few who act with honour and integrity in this land of extortion. When vicar of the Valteline, he discharged the duties of that important office with great credit, and has entered upon his government with the same spirit of integrity. There is a pleasure in receiving acts of politeness in a foreign country; but it is a double satisfaction to be obliged to persons whose characters are deserving of the highest esteem.

THE road from Morbegno to Delebio runs along the foot of the chain of mountains, which separate the Valteline from the Venetian territories. This chain having a northern aspect yields few vines, but is richly clad with hanging groves of chestnut-trees, chequered with meadows and fields of corn. The Valteline expands gradually as we advanced towards the lake of Como: in this part the whole plain is chiefly a morass, exposed to the inundations of the Adda, which flows through it in a wide channel. The silk, which begins to be of great importance in the trade of this valley, is chiefly exported from Delebio, through Chiavenna, into Germany. Upon my return to Morbegno, I supped with Mr. Planta, and after the repast was entertained with an excellent concert. In my return to Sondrio, I crossed the Adda opposite Morbegno, over a handsome stone bridge, and proceeded along a road carried at the foot, and along the sides of the northern chain of mountains. It was almost a continued vineyard, with

with millet, Turkish corn, flax, and hemp, growing between the ranges of vines.

THE romantic beauties of the Valteline are greatly heightened by the numerous remains of ancient fortresses and castles scattered throughout the country. They were all dismantled soon after the capitulation of Milan*, from a recent experience, that the inability of the Grisons to provide them with sufficient garrisons, exposed them to the enemy, and rendered them for the most part a source of annoyance rather than of protection. It might be imagined, that some of these fortresses ought to have been retained for the purpose of awing the inhabitants: such an absolute confidence, however, is reposed by the Grisons in the guaranty of the country by the House of Austria, that they do not maintain a single soldier throughout the whole Valteline.

* See Letter 89.

LETTER 78.

COMMERCE—PRODUCTIONS—POPULATION—OF THE
VALTELINE.

THE chief commerce of the Valteline is carried on with Milan and the Grisons. The principal exports of the country are wine and filk, which turn the balance of trade in its favour: they enable the inhabitants to exist without any manufactures, and help to supply the money which is exacted by the governors.

THE wine is sent into the Grisons, Germany, the Venetian states, Bormio, and occasionally to Milan. Upon a rough calculation 73,000 soma, or horse-loads, are annually exported: this year the soma sold for a pound sterling, which may be considered its average value. The filk is sent to England, Zurich, and Basle. The district of Delebio and Talomara produces the finest filk, the neighbourhood of Sondrio the next in quality, and the district of Tirano supplies an inferior sort. Three thousand pound of the finest sort, which is esteemed as good as the filk procured from Piedmont, is sent annually to England by way of Ostend. The greatest part of the filk is wound in the Valteline, for which purpose there are filk mills in the principal districts. Besides these commodities, the Valteline exports planks, cheese, butter, and cattle. The inhabitants receive from Milan

corn, rice, falt, filken ftuffs; from Germany and Switzerland cloth and linen; from Genoa fpices, coffee, and fugar. There are no manufactures in the Valteline, and almoft all the menial trades are exercifed by foreigners.

THE population of the Valteline may be eftimated from the following rough fketeh :

Upper Diftrict contains	-	-	20,000 fouls.
Government of Teglio	-	-	8,000
Middle Diftrict	-	-	18,000
Lower Diftrict	-	-	16,000
Total of the population			62,000

THE cottages of the peafants, which are built of ftone, are large, but gloomy, generally without glafs windows : I entered feveral, and was every where difgusted with an uniform appearance of dirt and poverty. The peafants are moftly covered with rags, and the children have ufually an unhealthy look, which arifes from their wretched manner of living. Such a fcarcity of provifions has been occafioned by laft year's drought, that the poor inhabitants have been reduced to the moft extreme neceffity. The price of bread was unavoidably raifed fo high, that in many parts the peafants could not purchafe it; and their only food was for fome time a kind of pafte, made by pounding the hulls and ftones of the grapes which had been preffed for wine, and mixing it with a little meal. Famine, added to their oppreffed fituation, reduced the inhabitants to the loweft condition

dition of human misery, and numbers perished from absolute want. But it is a pleasure to reflect that they are in some measure relieved by the plentiful harvest of the present year.

PERHAPS no part of Europe is more fruitful than the Valteline, and yet there is no country in which the peasants are more wretched. Many reasons are to be assigned for the misery to which they are reduced. The first and principal cause is the form of government. The governors, as I have shewn in a former letter, generally abuse the exorbitant authority entrusted to them by the laws, the peasants are imprisoned upon the slightest information; and as all transgressions are punished by fines, an accused person is seldom found innocent; so that a considerable number of peasants are annually ruined in the courts of justice. Beside the individuals who are supposed to suffer for their own guilt, the parishes are subject to continual assessments, towards defraying the expences for the trial and imprisonment of the poor parishioners: if the latter are unable to pay the sum required, it is demanded from the parish to which the criminal belongs. In this case it frequently happens, that the assessments, instead of being laid upon the landholders, are imposed upon each hearth, by which means the chief burden falls upon the poor.

ANOTHER cause of wretchedness proceeds from the present state of property. Few of the peasants are landholders; as from the continual oppression under which the people have groaned for above these two last centuries, the

freeholds have gradually fallen into the hands of the nobles and Grisons, the latter of whom are supposed to possess half the estates in the Valteline. The tenants who take farms do not pay their rent in money, but in kind; a strong proof of general poverty. The peasant is at all the costs of cultivation, and delivers near half the produce to the landholder. The remaining portion would ill compensate his labour and expence, if he was not in some measure befriended by the fertility of the soil. The ground seldom lies fallow, and the richest parts of the valley produce two crops. The first crop is wheat, rye, or spelt, half of which is delivered to the proprietor; the second crop is generally millet, buck-wheat, maaze, or Turkey corn, which is the principal nourishment of the common people: the chief part of this crop belongs to the peasant, and enables him in a plentiful year to support his family with some degree of comfort. The peasants who inhabit the districts which yield wine are the most wretched: for the trouble and charge of rearing the vines, of gathering and pressing the grapes, is very considerable; and they are so very apt to consume the share of liquor allotted to them in intoxication, that, were it not for the grain intermixed with the vines, they and their families would be left almost entirely destitute of subsistence.

BESIDES the business of agriculture, some of the peasants attend to the cultivation of silk. For this purpose they receive the eggs from the landholder, rear the silk-worms, and are entitled to half the silk. This employment is not unprofitable; for although the rearing of the silk-worms is attended with much trouble, and requires great caution, yet
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as the occupation is generally entrusted to the women, it does not take the men from their work. With all the advantages, however, derived from the fertility of the soil, and the variety of its productions, the peasants cannot, without the utmost difficulty, and a constant exertion, maintain their families; and they are always reduced to the greatest distress, whenever the season is unfavourable to agriculture.

To the causes of penury among the lower classes above enumerated, may be added the natural indolence of the people, and their tendency to superstition, which takes them from their labour. Upon the whole, I have not, in the course of my travels, seen any peasantry, except in Poland, so comfortless as the inferior inhabitants of this valley. They enjoy indeed one great advantage over the Poles, in not being the absolute property of the landholder, and transferable, like cattle. They are therefore at liberty to live where they chuse, to quit their country, and seek a better condition in other regions; a relief to which distress often compels them to have recourse.

Chiavenna, August 15.

I QUITTED Sondrio yesterday after dinner, and went up the valley of Malenco; yielding vines, chestnut-trees, rye, oats, and pasturage. The sides of the mountains were clothed with birch and firs; and their summits produced nothing but a scanty herbage. The inhabitants of this valley appear healthier, better clothed, and more industrious, than the other peasants of the Valteline. In consequence of their distance from the seat of government, or of being
in

in general too poor to excite the rapaciousness of the Grison governors, they are, perhaps, less oppressed, and for the most part possess a small portion of land. The valley is narrow, and watered by a torrent, which forms a continued cataract. The road is a faint path, by the side of a precipice, and carried over huge fragments of rocks. I passed the night in a solitary hut at the bottom of the Muret; the next morning mounted a rugged ascent in the channel of a small stream; observed nothing but bare rocks, without the least appearance of vegetation; came to the top of the Muret, and passed over a large mass of snow and ice.

IN these alpine situations the traveller sees, within the space of a few hours, nature in all her shapes. In the Valte-line she is rich and fertile; here she is barren and stupendous. These regions are so dreary and desolate, that if it were not for an occasional traveller, the flights of a few strange birds, the goats browsing on the rugged alps, and the shepherds who tend them, nature would appear quite inanimate. In these elevated spots, while

“ Placed above the storm’s career,”

I noticed the pleasing effect produced by the vapours and mists floating in mid-air beneath me; circumstances finely felt and described by the author of *The Minstrel*.

“ And oft the craggy cliff he lov’d to climb,

“ When all in mist the world below was lost:

“ What dreadful pleasure there to stand sublime,

“ Like

- “ Like shipwreck’d mariner on desert coast,
“ And view the enormous sea of vapour, tost
“ In billows lengthening to the horizon round,
“ Now scoop’d in gulphs, with mountains now emboss’d!”*

FROM the top of the Muret I descended about three hours a craggy, desolate, and uninhabited country; and noticed the gradual increase of vegetation as I approached the road leading to Chiavenna, a little above Casazza. This passage over the Muret, which serves for the transportation of wine and other merchandize from the Valteline to the Grisons, is only open about five months in the year.

LETTER 79.

CHIAVENNA—VALLEY OF ST. GIACOMO—CHAPEL
OF ST. GULIELMO.

Chiavenna, Sept. 16.

MY correspondence with you has been for some time interrupted by a disorder which has detained me in these parts above six weeks. The day after my arrival from the Valteline, I was seized with a lassitude, which I attributed to the fatigue of the journey; it ended in a violent pain and swelling of my right-hand, the effects of a rheumatism, which probably seized me the night I passed at the bottom of the Muret: not being able to procure a bed, I slept in the hay-loft, and suffered much from the piercing north wind, which blew from the glacier. I likewise imprudently walked the next morning, without intermission or refreshment, for the space of seven hours, from the top of the Muret to Bondo, so that the cold and fatigue brought on a rheumatic complaint, which has detained me here six weeks. During great part of the time I wore my arm in a sling, and was incapable of writing a line. What I most regret in this delay is, my having been prevented from being present at the general diet of the Grisons, which was held at Davos the latter end of last month.

THE county of Chiavenna came under the sovereignty of the Grisons in the same manner and at the same time with
the

the Valteline. During the war of the Valteline it frequently changed its masters, but at the peace of Milan was finally restored to the Grisons. It is ruled, like the other subject provinces, by a Grison governor, who is called Commissary, and who in a few instances is even less limited in his power than the judges of the Valteline.

THE criminal court of justice is formed by the commissary and the assessor. The assessor is appointed by the commissary, from three candidates nominated by the county. He must attend all examinations, concur in ordering torture for the conviction of a criminal, be present when it is inflicted, and ratify the final sentence: but as the assessor owes his place to the commissary, and shares in his exactions, he is a mere cypher, and never ventures to exert his right of interposing a negative. This circumstance renders the courts of justice in Chiavenna more uniformly iniquitous than even those of the Valteline: for the close union between the commissary and assessor almost precludes the chance of redress, and gives unbounded scope to oppression. It would be unnecessary to describe the mode of proceeding established in this court of justice, as it is similar to that of the Valteline. In civil causes the commissary receives five *per cent.* of the contested property; and an appeal from his decision may be submitted to the syndicate.

CHIAVENNA, the capital of the county, is situated at the foot and upon the side of a mountain, and contains about 3,000 souls. The inhabitants carry on but little commerce. The principal article of exportation (excepting the stone pots

mentioned in a former letter*) is raw silk. The whole country produces about 3,600 pounds of that commodity. A manufacture of silk stockings, the only one in the town, has been lately established. The neighbouring country is covered with vineyards; but the wine is meagre, and only a small quantity is exported. The great support of Chiavenna is the transport of merchandize, this town being the principal place of communication between the Milanese and Germany. From hence the goods are sent either by Coire into Germany, or through Pregalia and the Engadinas into the Tyrol. There is a duty laid by the Grisons upon all the merchandize which passes through Chiavenna; but this duty is so small, that the whole customs, including those in the Valteline, are farmed for 17,000 florins, or about £. 1260 *per annum*.

THE principal object of curiosity in the environs of Chiavenna is the fortress in ruins, seated upon the summit of a rock, which overlooks the town, and celebrated in the history of the Grisons for its almost impregnable strength. The only road which leads up to it is steep and craggy. The walls occupy a large space of ground, and are now partly covered with vines. The strongest part of the fortress was constructed upon an insulated rock, rent, as some persons conjecture, by a violent convulsion of nature, from the contiguous mountain. It is on all sides absolutely perpendicular, and its only communication with the castle was formed by a draw-bridge thrown across the intervening

* See Letter 69.

chasm. Others * suppose the separation of this rock from the remaining part of the fortrefs to have been the work of art, and affirm, that it was excavated in 1343, by order of Galeazzo Visconti. Its length is above 250 feet, its height about 200, and its greatest distance from the adjoining rock about 20 feet. This fortification, though always deemed impregnable, has been taken at different periods, sometimes by assault, but more frequently by famine or stratagem. It was finally demolished by the Grisons themselves.

CLOSE to Chiavenna is a rock of asbestos, a species of mineral substance, of a greyish silver colour, which can be drawn into longitudinal fibres as fine as thread, and is supposed to be indestructible by fire; the ancients manufactured it into a species of cloth resembling linen. This species of cloth is frequently mentioned by Pliny. It was principally used for shrouds, in which the bodies of the great were enveloped before they were placed upon the funeral pile; and which, not being liable to be consumed by fire, preserved the ashes of the body separate from those of the wood. The art of weaving the asbestos into linen is not lost, as some authors have asserted: but as it is very troublesome and expensive, and as the custom of burning bodies, which gave it a value, is no longer in use, the manufacture is discontinued. Beside the rock of asbestos just mentioned, near Chiavenna, several mountains in these parts yield the

* We may, perhaps, reconcile these two opinions, by admitting that the opening was originally occasioned by a violent convulsion of nature, but was afterwards enlarged and fashioned by art.

same substance. The best fort is found in the mountains that border the valley of Malenco, of which I have seen many very fine specimens.

UPON quitting Chiavenna, I entered the valley of St. Giacomo, which is narrow, and watered by the torrent Lira. It is part of the county of Chiavenna, contains about ten parishes, is under the jurisdiction of the commissary, and possesses several important privileges, that preserve the inhabitants from the oppression which their neighbours endure. All causes are tried in the valley. The criminal statutes are the same as those of Chiavenna, with this difference only, that instead of the assessor the valley chooses four persons, who are always present at the examination; and without whose concurrence torture cannot be inflicted, nor sentence passed. The valley has its own code of civil jurisprudence, and courts independent of the commissary, from the decision of which there lies an appeal to the diet. The lower part of the valley produces vines and corn: the upper part rye, barley, and pasture, mixed with large groves of fir and pine. I passed on my left hand the church of St. Guglielmo, which I mention because it is supposed to have been erected in honour of William king of Sicily. This William was the last sovereign of the male branch of the Norman line, which commenced in Count Roger, who conquered Sicily from the Saracens in the latter end of the eleventh century.

ROGER was twelfth son of Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman baron, and brother of the celebrated Robert Guiscard, the



J. Schuchle del.

J. W. Brown fecit.

St. Giacomo

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the bravest of those brave Norman adventurers * who sallied from their native country, formed a flourishing but temporary establishment in the southern parts of Italy, and furnished by their exploits such ample materials for history and romance. The son of Count Roger, who inherited the name and spirit of his father, erected Sicily into a kingdom: at the extinction of the male line of Robert Guiscard in the person of William, duke of Apulia, he annexed Apulia and Calabria to Sicily, and reigned over those territories, under the title of the Two Sicilies, which now comprehend the present kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The throne of Roger was successively filled by his son William the First, surnamed the *Bad*, and by his grandson William the Second, distinguished by the name of *Good*. On the demise of the latter without issue male, the Sicilians set aside Constantia, daughter of Roger, and wife of the emperor Henry the Sixth, and elected Tancred, illegitimate grandson of the first king. Tancred died in 1193; and William, his only surviving son, was crowned while an infant. Being dethroned by the emperor Henry the Sixth, who claimed the Two Sicilies in right of his wife Constantia, he was imprisoned, together with his mother Sibilla, in the fortress of Ems, near Coire. Some authors assert that he was deprived of his sight, others that he was mutilated, by order of Henry. Some relate that he died in prison, others that he was released, together with his mother Sibilla; that he accompanied her to France, but growing weary of the world retired to this spot, and passed the latter

* I would refer the curious reader to Mr. Gibbon's ample and accurate narrative of the history and exploits of these Norman adventurers, in the fifth volume of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

part of his days as an hermit, with such a reputation of sanctity, that he was canonised after his death. Such contradictory accounts occur frequently in the history of the dark ages. Muratori, who from his insight into the ancient records is most capable of solving this difficulty, leaves the question undecided; but seems rather inclined to believe, that William was released from his captivity, and that he afterwards turned hermit. As the genealogy of the Norman line is very complicated and obscure, and erroneously represented by many writers, I shall here subjoin a table of those sovereigns and their principal descendants.

GENEALO-

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

TANCRED, baron of Hauteville, in Normandy.

ROBERT GUISCARD, his fifth son, duke of Apulia, d. 1085.

BOHEMOND,
prince of Taren-
to, and sovereign
of Antioch, by
conquest from the
Turks in the first
Crusade, d. 1110.

ROGER, duke of
Apulia, d. 1111.
WILLIAM,
duke of Apulia,
d. 1127.

EMMA, mar.
an Italian prince.
TANCRED,
a conspicuous
warrior in the
first Crusade,
whose amiable
and spirited cha-
racter is finely
drawn and em-
bellished by
Tasso, in his
Gerusalemme
Liberata.

ROGER, his twelfth son, great count of Sicily, d. 1101.

ROGER II. first king of Sicily, duke of
Apulia 1127, first king of the Two Si-
cilies, d. 1154.

CONSTANTIA, dau.
of Roger II. b. 1154,
married Henry VI.
emperor of Germany,
d. 1198, queen of the
Two Sicilies.

ROGER, died
1148, before his
father.

WILLIAM I.
the Bad, d. 1166.
WILLIAM II.
the Good, d. 1189,
m. Jane, dau. of
Hen. II. king of
England.

TANCRED,
his natural son,
king of Sicily,
1189, d. 1194.

FREDERIC II. em-
peror and king of the
Two Sicilies, d. 1250.

WILLIAM,
dethroned 1194
by the emperor
Henry VI.

CONRAD IV. emperor and king of
the Two Sicilies, died 1254.

MANFRED, his natural son, regent of the
Two Sicilies; king 1258; killed at the battle
of Benevento.

CONRADIN, king of the Two
Sicilies; excluded by Manfred; be-
headed at Naples, 1269, by order of
Charles of Anjou.

CONSTANTIA, m. Peter of Arragon, who
conquered Sicily from the House of Anjou,
and whose posterity filled the throne of the
Two Sicilies as kings of the House of Ar-
ragon.

I EM-

I EMPLOYED about three hours in mounting from Chia-
venna to the pleasant plain of Campo Dolcino, and ascended
from the extremity of that plain to Isola, the last village in
the valley of St. Giacomo, from whence I am now writing.

IN these parts, where mountains rise over mountains, and
alps tower above alps, those fallings of snow, which I men-
tioned in a former letter *, under the name of *Avalanches*, are
extremely common. They are justly and warmly described
by the poet of nature †.

*Among these hilly regions, where embrac'd
In peaceful vales the happy Grisons dwell;
Oft, rushing sudden from the loaded cliffs,
Mountains of snow their gathering terrors roll.
From steep to steep, loud thund'ring down they come,
A wintry waste in dire commotion all;
And herds and flocks, and travellers and swains,
And sometimes whole brigades of marching troops,
Or hamlets sleeping in the dead of night,
Are deep beneath the smothering ruin hurl'd.*

* Letter 31.

† Thomson's Seasons.

LETTER 80.

SPLUGEN—THE GREY LEAGUE—RHEINWALD—VIA
MALA—TUSIS—NICHOLAS RUSCA.

FROM Isola the ascent is steep and rugged to the top of mount Splugen; and the torrent Lira roars from precipice to precipice in several stupendous cataracts. The road is hewn in the solid rock: in many parts it has the appearance of steps, in others is perforated through the mountains. In pursuing my way over this dreary tract, I was frequently reminded of the passage down the Gemmi*. Toward the summit of the Splugen there is an oval plain about two miles long and one broad, encircled with craggy points: it produces no trees, but yields rich pasturage. Near the summit are several rude blocks of a whitish kind of marble. I baited the horses at a small inn which stands at the extremity of the oval plain, and is the only house between the valley of St. Giacomo and Splugen. Before the door there were at least a hundred horses laden with merchandise. Three hundred horses are said to pass daily in this season of the year. Gently ascending from this oval plain, I observed the source of the Lira, which falls into the lake of Chiavenna, and soon afterwards crossed the highest ridge, on the other side of which the torrents flow towards the Rhine. The country is wild, and scarcely produces a single tree.

* Letter 39.

Lower, firs began to make their appearance; at first thinly scattered over the rocks, and gradually thickening into large forests. This passage over mount Splugen is principally used for the transport of merchandise to and from Coire: it is kept open even in winter, though not without great difficulty. In that season the merchandises are chiefly transported on sledges, of which forty or fifty pass in a day.

THE territory of the Grey League occupies all the eastern tract of this mountainous country, and is by far the most considerable, in extent as well as population, of the three Grison leagues. The etymology of the word Grigia, or *Grey*, which gives its name to this league and the whole country, is extremely uncertain. Some authors have conjectured, that the people of this district were the original inhabitants of the country, and were called *Grey*, in order to distinguish them from the more modern inhabitants, by an allusion to *grey* hairs, an emblem of antiquity. Others, on the contrary, dating this appellation from more modern times, assert that the first authors of the revolution, which, in 1424, gave liberty to the several communities in the Grey League, were dressed in the coarse *grey* cloth of the country; and that in commemoration of this great event the league was called *Grey* from their dress. It is certain, however, that this appellation is of very high antiquity, and existed long before the revolution. Tacitus calls the inhabitants of this country *Rætos Griseos, id est, canos*; and Ammianus Marcellinus styles the country about Coire, *Canos campos*, or the *Grey* Fields. Hence it appears how very fruitless must be any investigation concerning the true etymology of a word which
lies

lies hid in very remote antiquity, beyond the reach of our most inquisitive researches. Without entering, therefore, too minutely into etymological disquisitions, we may only remark in general, that the term Grifons, or *Grey* people, was the general name by which *all* the inhabitants of Rhetia were distinguished, and was not confined to that particular district now called the Grey League. The appropriation of the term to that particular body, may be thus accounted for. When the inhabitants of this district first rose in arms, for the purpose of asserting their independence, they naturally styled themselves, the League of the people called Grifons, or the *Grey* League; while those of the two other leagues, who afterwards formed similar associations, although equally known by the name of Grifons, took different appellations to distinguish themselves from the first confederacy.

THE territory now occupied by the Grey League, was formerly subject to the abbot of Disentis, the counts of Werdenberg, of Sax, of Masox, and the baron of Retzuns. The people seem to have originally possessed considerable privileges, which were gradually undermined, and occasionally violated by their chiefs and barons; engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other, the barons laid great exactions upon their subjects, in order to pay their troops, who could only be prevented from disbanding by repeated largesses. These exactions were at length carried to such an excess, and the people so wantonly oppressed by the tyranny of their despots, that, excited by the example of the neighbouring Swiss republics, they determined to deliver themselves from the grievous subjection under which they had long

laboured. But the meeting of the insurgents was by no means attended with any unwarrantable excesses, naturally to be expected from an enraged populace, but was conducted with the greatest composure. The leading members of the several communities having previously concerted the plan, a solemn deputation was dispatched to the respective sovereigns, who were assembled at Truns: the deputies laid the grievances before the chiefs, from whom they not only extorted redress, but procured a restitution of several obsolete privileges, and the addition of many new immunities. In consideration of these concessions, the chiefs were permitted to reserve to themselves certain prerogatives, which some of their descendants or successors possess at this day; a distinction which is now peculiar to this league, and renders its general constitution in some respects more aristocratical than that of the other two leagues.

THESE prerogatives consist in being present at the annual diet of the league, and in alternately proposing three candidates for *Landrichters*, or chief of the league, from whom one is nominated by the deputies. The counts of Werdenberg being extinct, these prerogatives are now confined to the emperor of Germany, as baron of Rhetzuns, the abbot of Disentis, and the temporary count of Sax. No real count of Sax now exists; for, upon the extinction of that family, certain communities * of the Grey League seized the domains, and continue to exercise the rights which were formerly enjoyed by the counts of Sax. The mode of creating a titular

* These communities are Lungnets and Vals, Ilants and Grub, Flims and Caisris.

count for the purpose of exercising these rights, is as follows : A few days before the meeting of the diet of the league assembled at Truns, those communities elect a person who represents the count. He is called in Romanish * *Cau de Saxe* and, although not unfrequently a common peasant, sits, at the diet, upon the same bench with the representative of the House of Austria and the abbot of Disentis, is addressed by a title equal to his supposed dignity, nominates the Landrichter every third year, and, having discharged his office, sinks at the expiration of a few days into his ordinary rank.

ANOTHER distinction peculiar to the Grey League ought not to be omitted. Like the other leagues, the particular districts possess their courts of criminal justice in the last resort; but in all civil causes above a certain value an appeal lies from the decision of the several courts to sixteen deputies annually assembled at Truns. I only mention the fact in this place, but shall have occasion to enlarge upon it in a future letter.

SPLUGEN, situated upon the rise of an hill, at the bottom of a rugged chain of alps, is the principal place in the valley of Rheinwald which forms a high jurisdiction of the Grey League. The Rheinwald is so called from the Hynder Rhine, which takes its rise upon the Vogelsberg, about the distance of twelve miles, and runs through this valley. It was my intention to have visited this source, but my late in-

* Literally *head of Sax*. *Cau* is supposed to be a corruption from *caput*.

disposition will not permit me at present to take fatiguing journeys.

THE inhabitants of the Rheinwald speak German, although they are entirely surrounded by people who use a different language. Towards the south, beyond the mountains of Splugen and St. Bernardin, in the valleys of St. Giacomo and Mafox, Italian is the common tongue: towards the north and east, in the valleys of Schams, of St. Peter, and of Lugnetz, Romansh is spoken. This remarkable circumstance has led many authors to conjecture that the people of this and other districts of the Grisons, who talk German, are descended from the *Lepontii*, supposed to be a Celtic nation, and considered as the original inhabitants of this country, before the establishment of the Rhetians. As I shall have occasion to examine this subject more fully in a future letter * upon the languages of the Grisons, I shall for the present only remark, that although the inhabitants of this district are immediately encircled by people who talk Italian and Romansh, yet the German language is spoken at Avers, Cepina, Tufis, and Furstenau, which are only at a small distance from the Rheinwald. I quitted, on the other side of mount Splugen, the Italian climate and productions: the air of this valley is so piercing, that we may agree with the proverb, "There are nine months winter and three months cold." Two high roads meet at Splugen, one from Chiavenna, the other leads over the Bernard into Bellinzona.

* See Letter 90.

From

From Splugen to Arder the road continues by the side of the Hynder Rhine, through a mountainous region, which presents at every step the most awful magnificence of scenery.

THE inhabitants of Suffers, the last village of the Rheinwald, talk German; and at a small distance is the valley of Schams, where the peasants speak Romansh. I made myself tolerably understood by a kind of jargon, composed of German, Italian, and Romansh; and taking out my vocabulary of the Engadina language, compared the different modes of expression and pronunciation. The inhabitants call their language Romansh; but it differs widely from the Romansh spoken in the valley of Surset, and still more from that of the Engadinas. The Bible, and other books used in this valley, are in the same dialect as those which are read in the other parts of the Grey League, and the language is similar, with a small variety in the pronunciation.

THE valley of Schams, a community of the Grey League, contains eight or nine inconsiderable burghs or villages situated at small distances upon each side of the Rhine. It is much lower and more fruitful than the Rheinwald. I crossed the Rhine at Zillis, leaving on my left hand Donat, where the collective body of people meet every year to chuse their magistrates, and regulate all civil and political affairs, and soon afterwards came into the *Via Mala*, so called from the supposed difficulties and dangers of passing through it. Such dreadful descriptions have been given by different travellers, that I expected to have found it the worst road
which

which I had hitherto travelled. But I was agreeably deceived, for it was not more incommodious than the way from Splugen to Anders; nor was it once necessary even to dismount from my horse, except when I stopped to take a nearer view of any particular scene which struck my fancy: the road even admits carriages. No reason occurs to me, why this particular way should be distinguished by the appellation of *Via Mala*, unless such descriptions allude to former times, and modern writers have adopted them as the mere echos of ancient travellers. Perhaps the peculiar gloom of the valley, through which the road passes, may have helped to convey these ideas of terror to persons not accustomed to Alpine regions.

THE *Via Mala* runs through a dark and uninhabited valley, overspread in many parts with thick forests, which admit only a kind of twilight gloom, and so exceedingly narrow, that the steep rocks, which enclose it, hang over, and seem almost to meet towards their summits. The Rhine foams at the bottom, sometimes not visible, and sometimes faintly glimmering through

“ — darksome pines, that, o’er the rocks reclin’d,

“ Wave high, and murmur to the hollow wind.” POPE.

ABOUT three miles from the commencement of the *Via Mala* we came to a stone bridge of a single arch, thrown across a gulf; a sublime scene, which I stopped to admire, and left with regret. The Rhine falls in a beautiful cascade, rolls in a narrow channel at the depth of above four hundred feet



L. Allen fecit

Via Mala?

Engraved as the last device 1794, by W. Cradock, London

J. Smith del.

feet perpendicular, furiously dashes under the bridge, expands itself into a wide basin, and then is lost under a rock, through which it has forced a passage. The impending mountains, partly bare, and partly embrowned with firs, cast an awful gloom over the gulf beneath. One circumstance, which I examined with much attention, and which I had observed in several other valleys of Switzerland, but never in such perfection as in this place, particularly struck me. The Rhine, which is at present about four hundred feet below the bridge, seems evidently to have once flowed as high, or even higher than the place where the bridge now stands; to have gradually worn away the rock, and excavated the deep channel in which it now runs.

HAVING passed the bridge, I went through a subterraneous opening a few paces in length, which had been cut through the overhanging rock, crossed a second bridge similar to the first, and soon afterwards quitted the Rhine, and began ascending. This part of the country is so entirely uninhabited, that I did not meet with a single house until I came to Roncalia, a village in the community of Tufis, upon the top of a steep mountain. From thence I descended to Tufis, situated near the torrent Nolla, at the beginning of the valley of Tomliasca. This town is said by the antiquaries to have been built by the Tuscans, when they took refuge in these parts under Rhætus.

TUSIS is well known in the history of the Grisons for the *Staffgericht*, or court of justice, which sat in 1618, for the trial of persons accused of holding a correspondence with

Spain, and of opposing the introduction of the Protestant religion into the Valteline. Amongst those who suffered in this iniquitous tribunal, the most remarkable was Nicholas Rusca, whom I had occasion to mention in my letter on the troubles of the Valteline, the cruel circumstances of whose death excited the general resentment of the Catholics, who soon afterwards broke out into open rebellion. Nicholas Rusca, a native of Bedano, in the bailiage of Locarno, was educated in the Jesuits' college at Milan, at the expence of cardinal Boromeo, and made so great a progress in his studies, that, in 1589, he was appointed principal of the church of Sondrio, although he was only in the 24th year of his age. He immediately signalised himself by his zeal in preaching against the reformed doctrines; and was one of the disputants who supported the Roman Catholic faith against the Protestant ministers, in two public conferences held at Tirano in 1595, and the following year. His character has been placed in the most opposite lights by the respective historians of the two contending parties: by the one he is represented a saint, and by the other an assassin. But if we examine with impartiality, it will appear, that though he was hurried on by a violent spirit of fanatical zeal, yet he cannot be supposed guilty of the atrocious crimes which his enemies have laid to his charge. Soon after his promotion to the benefice of Sondrio, a misunderstanding broke out between him and the Protestants, which gradually increased during the violence of the religious disputes, and was carried upon the following occasion to the highest degree of animosity.

CHIAPPINUS,

CHIAPPINUS, and three gondoliers of Venice, were arrested under suspicion of a design to assassinate Scipio Calandrinus, the Protestant minister of Sondrio, at the instigation of Rusca; a confession of guilt and of Rusca's privity being drawn from Chiappinus by the force of torture. The governor of the Valteline referring the affair to the diet of the Grisons, Rusca was cited before that assembly, but declined to appear; either, as his enemies pretend, from a consciousness of guilt, or, as his friends alledge, from a dread of putting himself in the power of the Grisons, so violently incensed against him. Having escaped from the Valteline, he waited at Bedano while his cause was publicly pleaded before twelve judges deputed by the Grisons. Being acquitted of the charge, he returned to Sondrio, where his zeal, inflamed by his late prosecution, continued to display itself by an unremitting opposition to the establishment of a Protestant school at Sondrio; a favourite measure of the opposite party.

HIS enemies, baffled in their first attempt, brought against him a charge of a more public nature: they accused him of counteracting the decrees of the Grisons, and of exhorting the inhabitants of Morbegno not to bear arms against the king of Spain, the protector of the Catholic religion. In consequence of these insinuations, a troop of sixty Grisons arrived at Sondrio by night, and, seizing Rusca, carried him to Tufis, where he was not only impeached of high treason in the temporary court of justice there assembled, but was likewise again examined, contrary to every principle of equity, for having abetted the assassination of

Calandrinus: as he preremptorily denied these charges, he was condemned to be tortured; which horrid sentence was three times inflicted in the dead of night. The execution of the sentence failing to extort from him the smallest confession of guilt, he was, on the following night, twice subjected to the same dreadful process. Being of a weak frame, and full of infirmities, he was overcome by excess of agony, and expired amidst the torments*.

SOME writers have asserted, that Rusca died of poison, which he had taken previous to his last examination; but this supposition seems to be totally void of foundation, and was only advanced in order to rescue the judges from the odium of having tortured him to death. For when it is considered, that, according to the common mode of applying torture in this country, he was five times drawn up by a pulley, with his arms tied behind, so as to occasion a dislocation of his shoulders; that he remained in that excruciating position above half an hour each time; and that he was in an infirm state of body, unable to endure such extremity of pain, we have no occasion to seek for any extraordinary cause of his death. The advocates for the Protestant party in vain endeavour to exculpate Rusca's judges from an intolerant spirit of bigotry, by asserting that the whole transaction was a

* *Die dominica, quæ Augusti 23 erat, ter sine tamen pondere elevatus fuit; perstititque in negativa, sæpius misericordiam Dei ac hominum implorans, quas voces dolor tormentorum ipse exprimebat, erat enim homo crebris febribus vexatus, ac proinde sustinendi torturam impos erat. Sequenti die lunæ, facies illi velo obtegatur, ne a quoquam signum habere queat ullum, et bis absque tamen pondere elevatur: tumque observatus est spiritus deficere, et cum solveretur tortura jam expiraverat, tenens linguam dentibus admorsam sic ut sanguis adpareret. Aporta Hist. Reform. Eccl. Ræt. vol. II. p. 268, 269.*

civil and not a religious process; for it is evident that theological rancour, however disguised under the mask of patriotism, was the leading motive to this prosecution. Independent indeed of all theoretical reasoning, every rational Christian, whatever his persuasion may be, must recoil with horror from enormities so inconsistent with the first principles of humanity, and contradictory to the meekness of that religion, which ought to be the rule of our actions*.

* Mr. Aporta, with the impartiality of an honest historian, speaking of the iniquitous acts of this tribunal, says, "*Deum im-* *ima miscere, si hoc non erat? Nullus tamen*
mortalem! Quid est carbonem irritare, hostes *actus majorem huic tribunali invidiam con-*
studio conquirere ac in se concitare, summis *ciliavit quam subita mors Nicolai Ruscæ, qui*
tormentis solutus sub judicum oculis expira-
vit." Hist. Ref. Eccl. Ræt. vol. II. p. 266.

LETTER 81.

VALLEY OF TOMLIASCA—RETZUNS—REICHENAU.

Coire, Sept. 21st.

FROM Tufis I continued my route along the valley of Tomliasca, by the side of the Rhine, which here separates the Grey League from that of the House of God: numerous towns, villages, and castles*, lie agreeably scattered through the vale in the most romantic situations. I passed through Catzis, leaving on my left the fruitful mountain of Henzenberg, called in Romansh Montagnia, and remarkable for its fertility and population; proceeded to Retzuns, and turned a little out of my way to the castle of that name, which makes so conspicuous a figure in the history of the Grisons. Antiquarians derive the name of Retzuns from *Rhætium* or *Rhætia Imä* (Lower Rhætia), and give the following account of its construction. In the early ages of the Roman history a numerous army of Gauls penetrated into Lombardy, and took possession of the greatest part of that country, which was then occupied by the Tuscans. A considerable body of Tuscans being driven from their native country accompanied their leader, Rhætus, and established themselves in these regions. Rhætus gave his

* Guler, the historian of Rhetia, says, that no region of Europe contains such a number of ancient castles as the country of the Grisons; and adds, that in the small valley of Tomliasca, not more than a German mile long, and a quarter broad, there are more than seventeen castles.



J. Smith del.

A. Wilson fecit.

Castle of Portmahomack.

Published as the Act directs 1794 by T. Cadell London.

own name to the whole region, and constructed that fortress which he called Rhætia Ima, since corrupted into Retzuns. Livy relates the emigration of the Tuscans into these parts without mentioning the name of their leader, who is called Rhætus by Pliny and Justin; and the number of places still existing in these alps, which bear a resemblance to that appellation, seem strong testimonies in favour of this account.

BUT as events of such high antiquity will always be liable to much doubt, let us descend to later times, which admit of no dispute. The castle was the residence of a baron, who possessed the adjacent territory, and was called Baron of Retzuns. His name frequently occurs in the ancient history of this country, when the territory of the Grisons was divided into several petty sovereignties. He is also mentioned among the chiefs, who assembled in 1424 at Truns, and confirmed and enlarged the privileges of the people, when the several communities united and formed the Grey League. At that time the baron reserved to himself certain prerogatives, which are now possessed by his successors. In 1459, the male line being extinct, the barony descended to a collateral branch, and in 1470 came by purchase into the possession of the emperor Maximilian the First. Ferdinand the First mortgaged the barony for 14,000 florins to John Planta, in whose family it continued until the year 1679, when it was redeemed by the emperor Leopold, and it now belongs to his grand-daughter Maria Teresa, the present empress*.

* The empress was alive when this letter was written: on her decease it descended to Joseph II. and since his death to Leopold II. and Francis II.

The revenues of this territory are very small, amounting to 2,000 florins, or scarcely £. 200 *per ann.*; but by the possession of it the House of Austria enjoys considerable influence in the political affairs of the Grisons. The delegate of the empress, who is called Administrator, has a vote in the diet of Truns, and nominates every third year the *Land-richter*, or Chief of the Grey League.

BEING desirous of seeing the castle, I sent my compliments to the Austrian delegate, who instantly made his appearance, and politely attended me round the castle. The present building was raised by Leopold, upon the foundation of the ancient structure, of which there are scarcely any remains. I could not, upon the closest inspection, discern the slightest traces of Roman workmanship. This castle is the usual residence of the Austrian Envoy to the Republic of the Grisons; but as the present envoy dwells in his own house at Reichenau, it is now occupied by the Austrian delegate. It is situated upon an eminence, and commands a fine view of the adjacent country. The rich plain, which extends as far as Reichenau, is bounded on all sides by high mountains, and yields, among other productions, abundance of wheat. The Lower Rhine flows through it in a wide and stony channel.

THE delegate finding, during our conversation, that I had a letter of recommendation from Count Firmian to the Austrian Envoy at Reichenau, invited me to dinner, and politely offered to accompany me in the afternoon to Reichenau; an invitation which I made no scruple to accept. The
company

company at table consisted of the administrator, his wife, and a capuchin friar. The lady spoke nothing but Romanish; I was not able to enjoy much of her conversation; could only drink her health, and make her a short compliment, which I had learned by rote. But I held a long conversation, in the French tongue, with the administrator, upon the barony of Retzuns, on which subject he kindly gave me the following information. As delegate of the empress of Germany, he has a kind of territorial jurisdiction over the village and district of Retzuns. The barony of Retzuns comprises the villages of Retzuns, Bonadutz, Embs, and Feldsberg, which form a High Jurisdiction in the Grey League, and send two deputies to the general diet of the Grisons; the people are free; they assemble annually in the court of the castle to elect their magistrates, when every male at the age of fourteen has a vote. The delegate nominates the Landamman from three candidates appointed by the people: the empress receives the fines for criminal offences, and pays the expences of the process; the prisoners are confined in the castle, but are tried by judges chosen by the people.

AFTER dinner I accompanied my host through a rich and fertile plain to Reichenau, and waited upon Mr. Buol, the Austrian envoy, who received me with great attention and politeness; and obligingly invited me to remain some time at Reichenau: an invitation I declined for the present, through my impatience of arriving at Coire, where I expected to receive several letters from my friends in England, from whom I had not heard since my departure from Milan. Reichenau is situated upon the conflux of the two branches which

form the Rhine. The lower branch is the same which I followed during the greatest part of its course from Splügen; the upper branch rises near the mountain of St. Gothard, and flows through the valley of Sopra Selva. The castle, or house of Mr. Buol, is placed in a most romantic situation upon a small eminence, a little above the junction, and the garden advances to the Rhine. At this place there are two bridges, which were built by the nephew of Grubenman, that deserve particular notice; one, which is thrown across the lower branch of the Rhine, measured thirty-five paces, or about a hundred and five feet. The second is built across the Rhine below the point of union, and forms a most beautiful object. It is a wooden bridge of a single arch, covered like that of Schaffhausen, and constructed upon the same plan, with this difference however, that the road is not carried in so perfect a level. The span of the arch is two hundred and twenty feet in length. As the banks of the Rhine in this spot are more elevated than those of the same river at Schaffhausen, the bridge of Reichenau is raised considerably higher above the surface of the water than that of Schaffhausen*. And as it presents also to the eye but a single curve, its general appearance is far more picturesque, and its effect more striking. But it is not near so beautiful a piece of architecture as the bridge of Wettingen, which is Grubenman's master-piece†. The more I examine these bridges, the more I am struck with the sublime simplicity of the structure; the more I am astonished, that the person who first conceived the plan was a common carpenter, totally

* Letter 2. p. 6.

† See Letter 13.



Buchanan.

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unacquainted with the theory of mechanics, and indebted to a natural genius for having carried practical architecture to such perfection. In my way from Reichenau to Coire I stopped at Embs, in order to inquire if there are any remains of an old castle, in which William, son of Tancred king of Sicily, was confined. At present there is not the smallest vestige of such a fabric; but according to the tradition of the country it formerly stood upon a hill, whereon the church is now erected.

THE valley from Reichenau to Coire is about two miles broad, and produces corn, pasture, and some vines, which begin to make their appearance near Embs. The Rhine flows through it with the rapidity of a torrent. Several insulated rocks are scattered on the banks of the river, some barren, others covered with wood, which greatly diversify the scenery. The chain of mountains fronting the northern aspect is overspread with groves of fir, while the opposite ridge is richly clothed for some way with oaks, and its summits crowned with firs and pines. A little way beyond I entered the League of the House of God, and arrived in good time at Coire.

LETTER 82.

LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE—TOWN AND BISHOPRIC
OF COIRE — CONVENT OF ST. LUCIUS.

THE whole territory, which is now comprised within the League of the House of God, was under the dominion of the bishop of Coire, until the people, oppressed by their rulers, threw off the yoke, and having formed a general league, compelled the bishop to ratify their independence. The æra of this important revolution is not, precisely marked in the annals of this country. Some historians have even asserted, that it happened so early as the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was anterior to the formation of the Grey League. But this opinion does not seem to be grounded upon sufficient evidence; as the facts alledged in its support intimate little more than that the bishop granted several immunities to the inhabitants, but by no means prove, that the communities formed themselves into a league at such an early period, and afforded the *first* * example of liberty in these parts. For that honour is undoubtedly due to the Grey League. This revolution, which finally exalted the league into its present state of freedom, probably took place between 1424, the æra of the

* Campell espouses this notion, and his authority undoubtedly carries great weight: but we must consider that he grounds his opinion merely upon conjecture, and that, as a member of the League of God's House, he was inclined to give to that League the preference in point of antiquity over the Grey League.

formation

formation of the Grey League, and 1436, the year in which the Ten Jurisdictions rose into independence.

This league is denominated in Romanish *La Ligia de la Chiada**; in German, *Gottshausbund*, from which we call it the *League of the House of God*: it takes this appellation as well from the cathedral situated in its capital, as from having once been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coire. It is divided into eleven districts; each of which (Coire excepted) is subdivided into two little republics, or communities. By this arrangement the league comprehends twenty-one republics†, and sends twenty-two deputies to the general diet.

FORMERLY the burgomaster of Coire was perpetual chief of the league without election, but in the latter end of the last century the other communities claimed a power of nominating to this office in their turn. The affair being referred to the arbitration of Zurich, it was decided, that for the future the twenty-two deputies of this league should choose two candidates from the members of the senate of Coire; and that these two candidates should draw lots for the charge: a mode of election which is now in use. The chief thus appointed is called *Bunds-president*, and has several privileges which distinguish him from the chiefs of the two other leagues. He receives all the letters addressed to the Republic of the Grisons from foreign powers, and is also

* *Chiada*, or as it is sometimes written, *Ca-de*, signifies cathedral. Hence the French call it *La Ligue Caddé*.

† See Introduction.

perpetual

perpetual president of the Congress, because that assembly is always held at Coire.

COIRE is situated at the foot of the Alps, in a rich plain between two or three miles wide; a considerable breadth of valley for this mountainous country. Opposite is the chain of mountains which separate the country of the Grisons from the canton of Glarus: of this chain the Calendar is esteemed the highest point; but it is far inferior in elevation to several of the Swiss and Savoy Alps I visited in my last tour, and wants one certain criterion of great height, perpetual snow. The town lies partly in the plain, and partly upon the steep side of a rock, and is surrounded with ancient brick walls, with square and round towers, in the style of fortification prior to the invention of powder. The streets are narrow and dirty. Several towns of Upper Engadina, although not so large, make a neater and more elegant appearance. It contains about three thousand souls.

MANY fables are related concerning the foundation of Coire: the most probable account seems to be, that it owes its origin to the emperor Constantius, who, in the 355th year of the Christian æra, penetrated into Rhetia, and fixed his station for some time near the spot where Coire now stands. A town, as it often happened on such occasions, was perhaps constructed near the camp; and from the imperial residence it is supposed to have derived the name *Curia*, its ancient appellation, since corrupted into *Coira* and *Coire*. The remains of two or three towers, which are evidently of Roman construction, attest its antiquity, and serve

serve to establish the truth of these conjectures concerning its origin. The town of Coire was formerly a city of the German empire, under the dominion of its own counts, and came in the ninth century under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Like many other cities of Germany, it obtained considerable privileges from the different emperors; and the inhabitants, having gradually circumscribed the authority of the bishop, at length established an independent republic.

THE government of Coire is of a mixed form, partly aristocratical, partly democratical. The supreme legislative authority resides in the citizens, whose number amounts to two hundred and ninety-four, divided into five tribes. Each citizen has a voice at the age of twenty. The suffrages are never collected in a meeting of the whole body of the people assembled together in one spot; but the object of deliberation is separately laid before each tribe, and is decided by the majority of the five tribes. The executive power is entrusted to the council of seventy, composed of fourteen members annually elected from each tribe. This sovereign council is divided into several lesser departments, of which the principal is the senate, or council of fifteen, who have the chief direction of affairs, either solely or conjointly with other members of the sovereign council. The chiefs of Coire are two burgomasters taken from the members of the senate, who, although liable to be removed, invariably continue in office for life. These two magistrates enjoy the supreme dignity by rotation, each for the space of a year; during which term the acting chief, under the title of reigning

reigning burgomaster, presides in the usual councils. The criminal tribunal is composed of the senate and fifteen other members of the sovereign council. The prisoners are examined and the process made out by the secret council, formed of the seven oldest members of the senate. The majority of these seven must concur, to order the infliction of torture. After examination and conviction, the acts of the process are laid before the criminal tribunal, which ultimately passes sentence; and all offences, excepting great crimes, are commonly punished by fines.

My curiosity led me this morning to the apartment in which the general diet of the Grisons is held every three years; although it contained no object worthy of description, yet it did not fail to strike my attention, as being the place where the parliament of a free nation is assembled. Coire sends two deputies to this diet, who are generally the two burgomasters; but if one of these should be chief of the league, the other deputy is chosen by rotation in the five tribes, with this condition, that he must be a member of the council of seventy.

FROM the apartment in which the diet is held I went to the town-hall, in order to see the form of administering the oath to the new *Bunds-president*. In general the ceremony takes place just before the meeting of the diet, in the presence of the deputies of the League of God's House; but as the person to whom the office now devolves was not present at the diet, it was necessarily postponed. All the parties being assembled, Mr. Tscharnier, the last president, with the public

public notary, stood at the upper end of the room; the gentleman appointed to succeed him stood at the lower end, with the *Bunds-weiber*, or secretary, dressed in a cloak half black and half white, the livery of the League. Mr. Tschärner addressed to his successor a speech of about ten minutes, in German, acquainting him, that he was appointed by the deputies of the League Bunds-president for the ensuing year, giving him joy of his promotion, and congratulating the League upon the nomination of a person so well calculated by his integrity and abilities to fulfil the duties of the office. At the conclusion of this speech, the public notary read the oaths for the president, for himself, and the secretary. Mr. Tschärner then told them to hold up three fingers of their right-hand, and to repeat after him their several oaths; which ceremony being concluded, the new president made a short speech, that he was highly flattered with the honour conferred upon him, and that he would strive, as far as his abilities would permit him, to promote the welfare of the League of which he had been elected president. Then the former president bowing to the new chief, the latter walked first out of the room; and thus ended the ceremony.

It is remarkable, that although in the nomination of the magistrates, president, and deputies, the aristocratical party has the entire direction, yet that the appointment to the vacant governments of the subject provinces should be left wholly to chance. When the turn belongs to Coire, the five tribes meet separately, and a candidate is appointed by lot from each tribe. These five persons then draw lots for the office, and the successful candidate may sell the turn; with this re-

striction, that the preference of purchasing it shall be given first to a member of the same tribe, secondly to any citizen of Coire, thirdly to an inhabitant of the League of God's House. It frequently happens, that the five persons, who are to draw lots for the government, agree to divide the profits of the sale.

UPON the highest part of the town stands the bishop's palace, the cathedral, and the houses belonging to the chapter. The bishopric of Coire is very antient, and was probably erected soon after the first establishment of Christianity in these parts under Constantine, or his son. This diocese once extended over the whole Roman province of Rhetia, which comprehended the present country of the Grisons, Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, the eastern district of Switzerland as far as the lake of Constance, and part of Tyrol. The bishop's territorial possessions were also considerable, and his revenues by no means inadequate to his power and dignity. It would be uninteresting to trace the diminution of his authority, and the gradual annihilation of his jurisdiction over the town of Coire, and the commonwealths of this League. I shall therefore observe, that his authority was principally lessened by the formation of the League of God's House, and the limitation of his prerogatives in 1527: by the former he was compelled to ratify the independence of the communities; by the latter the principal prerogatives, from which he derived great influence in the political affairs of the Grisons, were at once annihilated; and he was reduced to the condition of a private person, in that country wherein he had formerly been considered as a sovereign prince.

These

These privileges consisted in having admission, and a voice in the general diet of the Grisons; in appointing several deputies for the same assembly; in nominating the chief magistrates of several communities; and in receiving appeals in civil causes from the decision of the provincial courts of justice. All these prerogatives were abrogated by a general diet of the Grisons in 1527; and the few remaining rights have been either purchased or taken away. The introduction of the Protestant religion gave the final blow to his power; for his revenue suffered great diminution by the loss of the tithes, which were seized by the reformed communities.

THE bishop is prince of the Roman empire; a dignity annexed to the see in 1170, by the emperor Frederic the First, and is styled Lord of Furstenberg and Furstenau. His annual revenues, which amount to about £. 2,000, arise chiefly from estates near Coire, and in the Tyrol. He receives also the annual sum of about £. 70 from the customs of Chiavenna, in return for having ceded his right over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Republic of the three leagues *. The only prerogatives remaining are the right of coining money, and an absolute jurisdiction both in civil and criminal affairs within the small district in which his palace and the chapter are situated. Beyond this district he enjoys not the least power: so far from interfering in the affairs of the town, he could not even enter it if the inhabitants chose to exclude him; a right which they asserted in

* See page 242.

1764, upon the following occasion. A Catholic, in order to avoid being arrested for a crime of which he had been guilty, took refuge from the hands of justice in the cathedral. The inhabitants, inflamed by the bishop's refusal to deliver him up, raised a gate close to the only opening which leads into the episcopal district; by which means the avenue to the palace was closed: this manœuvre conquered the bishop's obstinacy, and the criminal was delivered up. The gate still exists, and is ready to be used upon another occasion.

THE bishop is chosen by the chapter. Many disputes relating to his election have arisen between the canons and the League of God's House: the latter, in virtue of a treaty contracted in 1541 with the bishop, protests, that only a native of the League can be promoted to the see. This treaty was observed until 1692, when a foreigner was elected; from that period the canons have disregarded the right asserted by the League, and have without reserve given their votes to aliens: at every new election the League remonstrates, but without effect. The present bishop is Francis Dionysius, of the ancient family of Rost in the Tyrol.

THIS episcopal district is only a few hundred paces in circumference, and is surrounded by high walls. The only object of curiosity is a square tower, which forms part of the bishop's palace, and is supposed to have been constructed by the Romans. It is of strong but clumsy workmanship, and is in no degree entitled to notice, except as a monument of antiquity. The cathedral contains the bones of St. Lucius, richly ornamented after the fashion of Roman Catholic relics.

relics. The chapter consists of twenty-four canons, of whom six are resident. The inhabitants of this district are all Catholics.

ABOVE the palace, and upon the highest extremity of the town, is the convent of St. Lucius. It takes its name from a small chapel dedicated to that saint, who, according to the legends of the Romish church, was a king of England in the latter end of the second century. Having embraced Christianity, and being inflamed with religious zeal, he quitted his throne, and wandering into these parts built an hermitage upon the spot where his chapel now stands, and by his preaching and example converted numbers to a belief of the gospel. He is styled the apostle of the Grisons, and is greatly revered as a saint by the Catholics, while the Protestants of the town pay him not the least veneration. Burnet, in his Travels, relates, that he endeavoured “ *to shew the good old bishop that the legend of Lucius was a fable in all the parts of it, but most remarkable in that which related to the Grisons; and that we had no kings in Britain at that time, but were a province to the Romans; that no ancient authors speak of it, Bede being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended letter to pope Eleutherius, together with his answer, has evident characters of forgery in it. All this, he adds, signified nothing to the bishop, who assured me that they had a tradition of that in their church, and it was inserted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed.*”

WELL aware, that my endeavours to convince the monks of the falsity of the legend would have ended as unsuccessfully.

fully as the reasoning of Burnet, I did not imitate his example; but without entering into the merits or demerits of the story, contented myself with admiring the beautiful prospect, which was the motive that induced me to visit the convent. The environs of Coire are delightful. The plain is richly diversified with corn and pasture; the hills gradually sloping to the foot of the mountains are covered with vines, which yield wine of an agreeable flavour, but not strong. The points of view vary suprisingly, from agreeable to romantic, from romantic to wild. The Rhine, which flows rapidly through the plain, about the distance of a mile, begins here to be navigable by rafts, and merchandise is transported toward Lindau and Zurich.

LETTER

LETTER 83.

CASTLE OF HALDENSTEIN—SEMINARY OF
LITERATURE.

I RODE this evening, in company with two gentlemen of Coire, who have favoured me with great marks of attention and politeness, to Haldenstein, which may be called the smallest sovereignty in Europe. We passed along the side of the hills, and at the bottom of the rugged rocks which lead to the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; and enjoyed the whole way a fine view of the rich plain, stretching from the town of Coire as far as Embs. The beautiful verdure of the meadows, the sloping hills clothed with vines, the craggy mountains, partly covered with vines, partly overspread with wood, and partly bare, formed altogether a striking prospect. We crossed the Rhine to Haldenstein, a small village consisting of about sixty houses, and proceeded to the house occupied by the present baron, Rhodolph de Salis, who received me with great politeness, and kindly indulged my curiosity, by shewing me his little territory, and answering my inquiries with great readiness and exactness. The baron, a gentleman of considerable learning and indefatigable industry, has formed a large collection of manuscripts relative to the Grisons, from which he has drawn ample materials for a publication, in which he is at present engaged. His researches are chiefly biographical; and his
work

work is intended to illustrate the memoirs of the principal persons, who have rendered themselves conspicuous among the Grisons by their actions and abilities *.

WITH respect to the barony of Haldenstein, he informed me, that it was formerly under the protection of the seven ancient cantons of Switzerland; that since the year 1568, it has been an independent sovereignty, under the protection of the three leagues; that in the middle of the sixteenth century it was possessed in right of marriage by John de Castron, French ambassador to the Republic of the Grisons, and at his death, in 1565, came into the family of Schauenstein: that the male line being extinct, it was divided between two females of the collateral branches, one of whom married a de Salis, and the other an Hartmannis. In the beginning of this century the descendants of de Salis purchased the other half, and again reunited it under one person.

THE whole barony consists of a small semicircular plain, which lies between the Rhine and the bottom of the Calendar, about five miles in length, and scarcely one in breadth. It occupies also part of the mountain, which is so steep as not to be inhabited. It contains only two villages, that of Haldenstein and Sewils, and the whole number of subjects amount

* This work is announced as not yet finished, in Haller's *Schweitzer-Bibliothek*, vol. II. p. 364, under the following titles:
1. *Rætia Illustrata, contenant l'histoire ou les principaux événemens de la vie des Hommes célèbres qui ont paru au pais des*

Grisons. 2. Rætia Literaria, ou Catalogue de tous les auteurs Grisons, de leur vie, et de leurs ouvrages.

The baron is since dead, and I have not heard that these works have been published.

to no more than between three and four hundred. The people were serfs or vassals, until the year 1701, when the grandfather of the present baron gave to them several immunities. At present the lord has territorial jurisdiction; the exclusive privilege of hunting and fishing; a claim of two days work annually from each of his subjects, and a load of dung from each peasant. He appoints the judge in the criminal court, receives the fines for offences, from which he pays the expences of the process, and has the power of pardoning. He nominates the president, and part of the jury in civil causes, and in all cases of appeal judges in the last resort. The baron shewed me several coins struck by his predecessors: the most ancient was a gold piece of 1611, the year in which the emperor Matthias conferred the right of coining money upon the baron of Haldenstein; a privilege which he still enjoys.

THE ancient castle of Haldenstein, from which the barons took their title, is now in ruins; but its remains are still visible upon the sides of the mountain: above it is another ruined castle called Lichtenstein, which was formerly inhabited by an ancestor of prince Lichtenstein of Vienna, and from which he is said to derive his title. The prince is so convinced of his descent from the ancient possessors of this castle, and so proud of their antiquity, that he was at the expence of procuring a stone from these ruins, for the foundation stone of a superb palace which he has built at Vienna, that it might be said to contain some materials of the original castle in which his ancestors once resided. The present

house, occupied by the baron of Haldenstein, was built in 1545, by James de Castrio; it is pleasantly situated near the Rhine, and commands a fine view of the town of Coire, and the adjacent country.

A FEW years ago the castle of Haldenstein was converted into a seminary for the education of youth. An enquiry into the origin of this institution, and the cause of its subsequent decline, has led me to gain some insight into the general state of literature in this country. It had long been a serious cause of complaint, that in the whole country of the Grisons there was no public seminary for completing the education of youth; and that all who followed any of the learned professions were obliged to repair to foreign academies. M. de Salis of Marchlins, and some other persons of the first consequence among the Grisons, considering this defect a disgrace to their country, projected a plan for the institution of an academy; and having obtained the ratification of the general diet, which assembled at Davos in 1761, carried it into immediate execution at their own expence, with a zeal for literature which reflects the highest honour upon their exertions. The plan was extensive and useful, and seemed well calculated to secure success: for a short time it wore a flourishing appearance; but this prosperous beginning was not succeeded by any beneficial consequences. Its decline was owing to the little countenance given to literature; was hastened by quarrels which arose between the professors; and in 1779, within the space of fifteen years from its first establishment, the institution was dissolved.

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THE general state of literature among the Grisons is at a very low ebb. One of the most learned men in this country, and who would be far from depreciating the knowledge of his countrymen without sufficient foundation, thus expresses himself upon this head * :—"As the administration of affairs is entirely in the hands of the people, the greatest part considering nothing but their own profit, despise every species of polite learning, and are unwilling to allow any salaries, or bestow any honours upon the professors; so that all persons who cultivate the sciences are incited merely by the love of glory, and a disinterested zeal." If this is the case, it would be chimerical to expect the arts and sciences to flourish in an ungrateful soil, where they meet with no encouragement: but even amidst these obstacles to improvement, there have never been wanting, and there still are to be found, men of superior souls, who have dedicated their time to the cultivation of letters; and who merit the highest praise, for labouring in the vineyard without hopes of profit.

THE Protestants who receive a liberal education repair for the most part to Zurich or Basle, and the Catholics to Milan, Pavia, or Vienna. Each community has a small

* *In Rætia nostra rerum administratio omnium a plebe dependet, cujus numerus potior non nisi quæ ante nasum sunt, aut lucrum adferunt, sapit, quicquid de reliquo agatur, literas politiones, cum omni gloria et commodis quæ ex illis subsequuntur, quasi rejicienda contemnit; nullum earum professoribus premium, nullum meritum, laudem nullum tribuit; sic ut qui litteras ament, et excolant, ex*

generoso quopiam animi impetu id agant, seposito omni alio fine, et absque ullo ad eas calcari. Et his tamen non obstantibus, reperti et apud Nos qui generosi ediderunt pectoris documenta; reperti etiam, qui scientiarum culturam, ac amorem quibusvis aliis prætulerunt, licet illorum labores ac memoria fere cum ipsis intereat, nec sit qui eam ab interitu vindicet. Aporta Hist. Reformat. Rætiae. Præfat.

school, in which the children are taught to write, read, and cast accounts; but which is only open in winter from the 9th of November to the 7th of March. Those parents who wish to give their children a better education, and who can support the expence, must either send them to foreign parts, or have a private tutor at home. There is a Latin seminary at Coire for the children of the burghers, and another, instituted in 1763, for the education of persons intended for the church; and although these establishments are poorly endowed, yet they have been productive of some literary advantages to the country. There is also a typographical society at Coire for Latin, German, and Romanish: books in the latter tongue are also printed in the Lower Engadina, and at Disentis.

LETTER 84.

LEAGUE OF TEN JURISDICTIONS—FATZEROL—
BATHS OF ALVENEW—DAVOS—VALLEY OF PRE-
TIGAU—MALANTZ—MAYENFIELD—BATHS OF
PFEFFERS.

I QUITTED Coire yesterday morning, in order to make an excursion into the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; but before I proceed in my account of this expedition, I shall send you a short abstract of this league, from its first foundation to its perfect independency. This league ought properly to be called, and indeed is not unfrequently denominated in this country, the League of the *Eleven* Jurisdictions, from the number of communities of which it is composed; but as upon its first union it was formed of ten jurisdictions, it still retains its original appellation, although one of the jurisdictions has been since that period subdivided into two.

THE territory of this league was formerly under the dominion of the barons of Vats, whose authority was limited, as the people possessed very considerable privileges. Upon the death of Donatus, the last baron, the count of Toggeburg, who had married his eldest daughter, succeeded to his possessions; and Frederic, one of his descendants, dying in 1436 without issue, the several communities united, formed an offensive and defensive alliance, and erected themselves
into

into a league. But although by this alliance they increased their immunities, yet they were by no means perfectly independent; for the male heirs of the count of Toggeburg obtained the lordship over these jurisdictions, after having confirmed all their privileges, and added others. Afterwards Sigismund, archduke of Austria and count of Tyrol, purchased the baronial rights. Upon his death they devolved to his heir, Maximilian the First, and the successors of that emperor. These prerogatives consisted in the appointment, in several of the communities, of the criminal judge, in the power of pardoning, in receiving part of the fines, in nominating the principal magistrates from three candidates, and in other similar privileges, which gave to the House of Austria considerable influence in the interior administration of affairs. These rights, exercised by means of a governor who resided at Castels, but who could not be appointed without the concurrence of the league, were gradually annihilated, either by purchase or concession; the several communities became entirely independent; and this independence was solemnly ratified by the emperor Ferdinand the Third, soon after the peace of Westphalia.

AFTER about half an hour's ascent from Coire, I entered the League of the Ten Jurisdictions near Malix; passed along the vale, and through the community of Churwalden, in which the hamlets lie prettily scattered about the plain, and upon the sides of the mountains. I made a small circuit in order to pass through the village of Fatzerol, which consists only of five or six houses, and stands at the bottom of some very high and rugged mountains; it is celebrated in
the

the history of the Grisons as being the place where, in 1471, the first perpetual alliance was ratified by the deputies of the three leagues. I was accompanied to the spot by one of the principal inhabitants, who was not displeased with the enthusiasm I testified at beholding the birth-place of their liberties. The house is now in ruins, and the apartment which was remarkable for the meeting of the deputies no longer remains. Having, with the assistance of my companion, traced its site, I considered with respect the spot which was once sanctified by the ratification of the general union; lamented that so venerable a pile of building should be suffered to fall into decay; and felt disappointment, that there was no inscription by public authority, in order to consign to posterity the date of the transaction, and to consecrate the place which had been witness to an event the most memorable in the annals of this country.

HAVING satisfied my curiosity in viewing these respectable remains, I descended through Brientz to the baths of Alvenew. The source which gives celebrity to Alvenew is sulphureous, and resembles both in smell and taste the waters of Harrowgate. The situation of these baths is highly romantic, by the side of the torrent Albula, at the bottom of the majestic Alps. Having passed through Alvenew and Anderwisen, I mounted a very steep rugged ascent through a thick forest, and then pursued a narrow path upon the side of a rock called Zug, over a steep precipice, with a torrent flowing beneath. This rock is mostly bare, excepting a few stubbed firs, the remains of a forest which was formerly destroyed by fire; hence it is called the *Burnt Wood*, and exhibits

bits a most desolate appearance. At the bottom of this rock, close to the torrent, are mines of silver, which were formerly worked. I entered the jurisdiction of Davos at the village of Glarus, and took up my lodging in a neat cottage.

THE district of Davos is a long plain, about a quarter of a mile broad, gradually rising into hills, which terminate in high mountains. It is not unlike the valley of Upper Engadina, but is more fertile. Near the church of St. John there is a small cluster of eight or ten houses contiguous to each other: in the other parts the cottages are thickly strewn over the plain, and upon the gentle acclivities, as in the canton of Appenzel, each with its little territory. The country produces oats, rye, large quantities of rich pasture, and yields two crops of hay in one season. It is now the second harvest, and the fields are covered with mowers. The bordering mountains are overspread to their summits with forests of fir and larch, intermixed with meadows: above them tower the rugged Alps. A clear murmuring stream flows through the midst of the plain, with a gentle though lively course; its banks prettily ornamented with scattered cottages, which are remarkably neat and commodious. Some are built of trees piled one upon another; others have stone foundations, and the upper part of wood; others are constructed with stone plastered and white-washed. I walked to the valley of Diesma, leading to Scampf in Upper Engadina, which is closed at some distance by a high mountain covered with snow, said to be one of the most elevated in the country of the Grisons. It is called the Swart-Horn, and is part of the Scaletta Alps, which communicates
with

with the Julian Alps, the Set, and the chain that separates the Valteline from Upper Engadina and Pregalia. Close to my inn is the town-house, in which the deputies composing the general diet of the Grisons are assembled every three years. It is also the place of meeting for the deputies of this league, who assemble annually in the month of May, for the choice of the *Bunds Landamman*, or chief of the league, and for the transacting of any particular business. It is plain and simple, like the people themselves.

THE form of government established in this district of Davos is similar to that of the small cantons of Switzerland, and is entirely democratical. The people must be assembled upon all extraordinary occasions, such as enacting new laws, deciding upon appeals from the general diet, and raising money. Every male at the age of fourteen has a vote. The whole collective body of the people, however, do not meet in order to choose their magistrates, who are elected from deputies sent by each district. The administration of affairs resides in the great council of eighty-two, and the council of fifteen, which is included in the former. The great council regulates all affairs relating to finance; the fifteen superintend the police, and are judges in the civil and criminal courts of justice without appeal*. In criminal cases torture cannot be inflicted without permission of the great council. The Landamman is elected every two years, and is president of

* It is remarkable, that through the whole League of the Ten Jurisdictions there is no appeal from the decision of the civil courts of justice, excepting in the

community of Alvenew. The inhabitants of that place being Catholic and Protestant, there lies an appeal to the civil tribunal either of Churwalden or of Davos.

both these councils. This remote corner has produced several persons eminent in literature; and particularly the two historians of the Grisons, Guler and Sprecher.

JOHN GULER was born 1562, and died in 1637, at a very advanced age. He was remarkable for his multifarious knowledge; and published, in 1616, in the German tongue, "an account of the three Grison Leagues, and other Rhetian people." In this work, much esteemed by the natives, the author gives a circumstantial detail of the origin of the antient Rhetians, and of their emigration from Tuscany into this country under their leader Rhætus; traces their subsequent history under the Romans, and in the dark ages, to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the union of the three leagues was established. Guler has illustrated the history of ancient and modern Rhetia by wooden engravings of medals, towns, and battles; genealogical tables, coats of arms, and maps; which, though rude, are curious for their antiquity. The author had also meditated a second volume, on the union of the three leagues, on the topography and history of the whole country, and on the transactions of his own times. For this part of the work Guler was eminently qualified; as well from his extensive erudition, and for having carefully digested Campel's account of the Grisons*, as from the various offices to which he was raised both in the civil and military line, and the repeated embassies and negotiations in which he was employed. It is, however, uncertain whether this part was ever finished;

* See Letter 73.

and

and if finished, it is probably lost: as Mr. Aporta has searched for it without success in the libraries and among the manuscripts of his countrymen*. The deficiency of this valuable performance, however, is fortunately supplied by Fortunatus Sprecher, the contemporary, friend, and relation, of Guler. Sprecher was born in 1584; and in 1617 gave to the world *Pallas Rætica armata et togata*; or the military and civil history of the Grisons from the earliest ages to the æra in which the book was published. In this work, which is a model for method and perspicuity, the author gives the national history, in ten books. The first contains the emigration of the Tuscans, their settlement in this country, the description of the antient Rhetians, and their transactions to the time of Augustus. The second comprises the period from the Augustan æra to the establishment of the empire of the Franks. The third treats of the Grisons under the empires of the Franks and Germans, till 1476. The fourth details the wars of the Grisons; namely, the Swabian war against Maximilian the First, and the campaigns against James of Medici, from 1525 to 1531. The fifth comprises the wars in which the Grisons were engaged under the standards of foreign powers. The sixth relates the union and political state of the three leagues, and their alliances with the Swiss and other powers. The seventh, eighth, and ninth, separately describe the Grey League; the bishopric of Coire, and the League of God's House; and the League of Ten Juris-

* See Aporta Hist. Refor. Ecc. Ræt. Præfat.—Haller, in his Schweit. Bib. N° 814. says, that it was already prepared for the press, but was unfortunately burnt.

ditions. The tenth concludes with an account of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio. A second volume, which appeared in 1629, under the title of, *Historia Motuum et Bellorum postremis hisce annis in Rhetia excitatorum et gestorum*, relates the wars and troubles of the Grisons from 1617 to 1629; a period of turbulence and discord. A third volume continued the history of the Grisons from 1627 to a short time before the author's death, which happened in 1647; but has never been given to the public.

TOWARDS the extremity of the beautiful valley of Davos is a small lake, about four miles in circumference, which is remarkably deep and clear, and abounds with excellent trout. It lies at the foot of the mountains, and supplies a small stream, which being joined by one from the valley of Flola, and by another from that of Diesma, forms the murmuring brook that waters the valley of Davos, and falls into the Albula above the baths of Alvenew: it is considered by some writers as forming a source of the Rhine.

FROM the banks of this lake I descended to another, about half a mile in circumference, that lies in a wild and romantic situation, and supplies a small torrent, which is the source of the Lanquart, traversed a small pleasant plain strewed with cottages, which compose the village of Lower Lera; at the extremity of which the descent was so steep and rugged, that I dismounted until I reached the vale of Pretigau. I passed through Closter, Kublis, Jenatsch, and Schiers, following all the way the torrent Lanquart. The country is delightful, and
greatly

greatly diversified with all kinds of productions. It yields different species of grain, rich pastures, abundance of fruit-trees, with large quantities of flax and hemp: the hemp is much cultivated, and seems to be carried to great perfection. The peasants manufacture coarse but very strong linen from this hemp. The mountains on each side are in some parts covered with forests; and so great is the abundance of wood, that the fields are either studded or skirted with larch, pines, and beech. The hamlets are scattered through the plain, and along the declivities of the mountains, in a very pleasing manner. The houses are mostly of wood, in the Swiss mode of construction, and not less convenient. The road through this vale descends gently all the way. I have not for some time visited a more agreeable, fertile, and populous district.

A LITTLE beyond Grusch, which lies under some bare rocks in a fertile plain, the valley of Pretigau contracts; and the road leads through a narrow pass between impending rocks, just broad enough to admit the torrent and the road. The sudden change from the fertility of the country to the rugged barrenness of this spot, sufficiently striking of itself, was still further heightened by the gloom of the evening, which added to the horror of the scenery. The road was carried for some way in continued ascent and descent along the craggy precipices, sometimes above, and sometimes upon a level with the torrent. The path was so narrow and rugged, that I gave my horse to the guide, and continued my way on foot. I soon emerged from this obscure pass, and, as
far

far as I could judge by the dim light of the stars, came into a fine and rich country, and went through a series of vineyards to Malantz, in the district of Mayenfield.

THE High Jurisdiction of Mayenfield is the most remarkable in the whole country of the Grisons, because the inhabitants are respectively sovereign and subjects. They are sovereign, because they form part of the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, send deputies to the general diet of the Grisons, and nominate to the governments of the subject provinces. They are subject, because, like the subject provinces, they are governed by a bailif sent from the Grisons, who is changed every two years, and in whom resides the supreme authority. This strange intermixture of privileges and subjection is derived from the following causes. The lordship of Mayenfield was, like the whole territory of this league, subject to the counts of Toggenburgh, and, in 1436, joined the other communities to form a league. In 1509, the prerogatives enjoyed by the count of Toggenburgh were sold, by his heirs, for 20,000 florins, to the three leagues, which confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants. In 1537, Malantz and Jennins, the remaining part of this High Jurisdiction, were also purchased by the three leagues for 10,000 florins. Thus, while the inhabitants of all the other jurisdictions, who came under the dominion of the House of Austria, have purchased their absolute independence, the people of Mayenfield and Malantz, although making part of the sovereign power, have continued in the same state as at the first formation of the leagues. The bailif or governor is appointed by the communities

munities of the three leagues in rotation; and the inhabitants of this very High Jurisdiction nominate the bailif, when it is their turn to present to the office.

THE prerogatives of the bailif, who resides at Mayenfield, are as follow: he appoints the *Stadvogt*, or chief magistrate of that town, with this condition, that he must be a member of the senate; upon a vacancy in the senate or little council, he nominates the new senator; he arrests criminals, examines them, and makes a composition if he chuses; he cannot order torture or pass sentence without the concurrence of the members of the criminal tribunal*, and when they pass sentence can pardon; he can give a liberation, in the same manner as the governor of the Valteline†; he receives part of the fines for criminal offences, and a certain portion of the great tythes; at Malantz he appoints the chief magistrate from three candidates presented by the people, who choose all the other magistrates. Both Mayenfield and Malantz have their civil courts, from that of the former there lies an appeal to the bailif.

FROM Malantz, a small but handsome town lying upon the side of an hill, I descended into a rich plain of pasture, about three miles in breadth, crossed the Rhine, and soon afterwards ascended into the county of Sargans, through hanging groves of larch, fir, birch, beech, and oak. The eminence commands a fine view, on the other side of the

* The members of this tribunal consist of six judges from the district of Mayenfield, and six from that of Malantz, three from Jennins, and two from Fläsch.

† See Letter 76.

Rhine, of hills gently rising from the bed of the river into mountains. Upon this chain are situated Mayenfeld, Malantz, Jennins, and Flæsch, furrounded by corn-fields, meadows, and vineyards: it seemed to me the richest part of this country. I observed beyond the confines of the Grisons, at a little distance, the road * which I passed in 1776, in travelling from Appenzel to Wallenstadt.

HAVING reached Pfeffers, I left my horse at the village, where there is an abbey of Benedictine monks, the abbot of which is a prince of the empire, and took a guide to the baths of the same name, which are distant about three miles. I passed through a thick forest of beech, down a steep and rugged path, to the house which the abbot has built for the reception of the company. Formerly the accommodations were extremely indifferent; and the descent into the baths was attended with great inconvenience, if not with danger. Affairs are now greatly changed: the waters are conveyed by pipes into commodious baths; and the house, which is not only commodious, but superb, hangs in a most romantic situation on the side of the mountain, amidst the gloom of the forest, close to the lively Tamina.

BEING desirous of visiting the warm source, I crossed the Tamina, over a wooden bridge, and entered in a chasm, or narrow opening in a rock of lime-stone, through which that torrent has forced its way. The chasm is from ten to twenty feet broad, and from two to three hundred feet high.

* Letter 5.

In some places it is open at top and overspread with shrubs; in some its sides converge and almost touch; in others it is quite closed with enormous masses of fallen rock, and scarcely admits a feeble ray of light. The passage along this chasm is quite dreadful; and my head almost turns giddy at the bare recollection. I went along a kind of scaffolding erected for the purpose of supporting a wooden aqueduct, through which the waters are conveyed to the baths: the planks upon which I walked, either resting upon long beams, or suspended by iron cramps driven into the sides of the rock, hang over the torrent. I was frequently obliged to stoop for a considerable way, in order to avoid the impending rock: in some places I traversed a single plank, which forms a kind of bridge suspended over the gulf, tottering under my weight, and so narrow that I walked sideways. In this manner I continued for near a quarter of an hour before I reached the warm springs, which gush abundantly from the crevices of the rock. Here the baths were formerly constructed: the houses for the reception of the sick were built upon a platform, under the over-hanging crags; a situation so dreary, that the description given by the writers of the last century no longer appears in the least degree exaggerated. Willing to convey a general idea of their gloominess, they represent these dwellings as never receiving the rays of the sun, and so dark that the inhabitants were accustomed to use candles at mid-day. The approach to the baths was very inconvenient: the company descended ranges of perpendicular ladders, or were let down by ropes. As the rocks have fallen, and overwhelmed these subterraneous dwellings, I

could observe no traces of them, except some holes in the rock for the beams which supported the houses.

THESE baths have been so renowned for their efficacy in curing the gout, rheumatism, and cutaneous disorders, that, according to the general opinion, they contain a small portion of gold; as if that metal would render them more salutary for the cure of diseases. The waters are transparent, perfectly free from smell or taste, and about the warmth of milk immediately drawn from the cow. Persons who have analysed them say, that they deposit no sediment, are as light and pure as rain-water, are impregnated with a small quantity of volatile alkali and iron, but contain no sulphur. I returned from this source through the same chasm, and along the same tottering scaffolding, and was not displeased when I issued again into day. I then mounted to the village of Pfeffers, descended into the plain of the Rhine, and hastened to Coire.

LETTER 85.

UNION OF THE THREE LEAGUES—DIET—CONSTITUENT PARTS—MODE OF CHOOSING THE DEPUTIES—ANALOGY BETWEEN THE GRISON DIET AND THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, ACCORDING TO THE PLAN OF EXTENDING TO THE PEOPLE AT LARGE THE RIGHT OF ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES—REMARKS ON THE INEXPEDIENCY OF THAT PLAN.

THE country of the Grisons is divided into three leagues, which unite and form one republic; the Grey League, the Cadée, or the House of God, and the Ten Jurisdictions. The respective communities of these three leagues have their peculiar constitution, enjoy their municipal laws and customs, and are independent commonwealths in all concerns, which do not interfere with the general policy of the whole republic, or the articles of the particular league of which they form a part.

It is remarkable, that the precise period at which the three leagues formally united to compose one general republic cannot be ascertained from any positive record in the annals of this country. Campel, the best historian of the Grisons, places this event about 1436*. For though the first

* Sprecher, however, in his *Pallas Rhætica*, fixes the union of the three leagues in 1471, p. 228. Elz. edit. Most of the Grison historians follow Sprecher.

articles of union which are transmitted to posterity were drawn up in 1524; it is plain that there were others of anterior date, because it is therein expressly mentioned, that the said articles were compiled from a former treaty, with great additions. This union has since been frequently renewed at different periods; but the same articles remain without any alteration.

THE connection between the three leagues is maintained by means of an annual diet, of the congress, and of the three chiefs. The diet is composed of sixty-three deputies, and the three chiefs. Of these deputies the Grey League send twenty-seven, the House of God twenty-two, and the Ten Jurisdictions fourteen. They are chosen in the several communities by every male of a stated age*. The diet assembles annually about the beginning of September at Ilants, Coire, and Davos, by rotation, and continues sitting about three weeks or a month. The chief of that league, in whose district the diet is held, is president for that turn, and has the casting voice in case of equal suffrages. The supreme authority is not absolutely and finally vested in the diet, but in the communities at large; for in all affairs of importance, such as declaring war, making peace, enacting laws, contracting alliances, and imposing taxes, the deputies either bring positive instructions from their constituents, or refer those points, concerning which they have no instructions, to the decision of the several communities; so that in effect the

* The age which entitles them to vote is not exactly the same in all communities; in some it commences as early as fourteen.

supreme power constitutionally resides in the body of the people, and not in their representatives at the diet. All questions in the diet are carried or rejected by a majority of voices: the mode of voting is as follows. In all cases where the communities send instructions, the deputies deliver them to the secretary, who reads them aloud: if these instructions are obscurely worded, as sometimes happens, either through accident or design, the diet determines by a majority, in what sense they shall be taken. In resolutions, which, for want of instructions, are subject, after the decision of the diet, to the revival of the communities, each member is at liberty to vote as he chooses. The three chiefs have no suffrage, when the communities send their instructions, because they are not representatives: but in all cases which are either not referable to the communities, or which are afterwards to be submitted to the communities, they vote in the same manner as the deputies.

It is worthy of remark, that although each deputy has the power of bringing in any bill, or proposing any question; yet he can only communicate it to the assembly through the medium of the president: the latter may lay it before the assembly, without any previous notice, at any time before its dissolution; a privilege, which necessarily invests him with great influence in promoting or opposing the success of a motion. The deputies receive, for their attendance, a small salary from the public treasury, which never exceeds five shillings a day.

EXTRAORDINARY diets are convoked at the request of any foreign court, who will discharge the expence of its sittings, and upon other important emergencies. This extraordinary assembly is sometimes composed of all the deputies, at other times of only half the number: in the latter instance it is called a half diet. The deputies are chosen in the same manner as at the election of a general diet, and its powers are the same.

THE aristocratical party is still further strengthened by the power delegated to the congress; an assembly formed by the three chiefs, and three deputies from each league. In the Grey League these deputies are nominated by the Landrichter; in each of the other leagues they are chosen by rotation from the several communities. This congress generally meets in February or March, and always at Coire, for which reason the chief of the League of God's House is president: its office is to receive the votes of the several communities, relative to the questions referred to their deliberation at the last diet, and to communicate to each of them the result of the general decision. Whenever the answer of a community is not clearly worded, the congress determines the meaning of that vote by the majority; and this circumstance gives an opening to much intrigue. For, if the leading persons in any community do not chuse to form a positive decision, they have it obscurely worded, provided they are certain, that a majority of the congress will affix that interpretation which they desire. This assembly sends out decrees to the subject countries: if such
decrees

decrees are agreeable to the governors, they put them into execution; but if otherwise, and they can secure a majority at the approaching diet, they reject them, alledging that congress has exceeded its power. The three chiefs, as well as each of the other members of the congress, receive as a defrayment of their expences 54 florins, or about £. 4.

THE three chiefs assemble regularly three times in the year at Coire, and upon any emergency may be also summoned by the chief of the League of God's House. The principal meeting is in the month of May, when they write circular letters to the several communities, concerning the questions which are to be laid before the general diet. All the circular letters are written in German, and are translated into Italian or Romansh by the notaries of the district where those languages are spoken. All public acts and documents are compiled in German: at the diet all bills are proposed in that language; but the deputies, who do not understand German, may speak Italian.

THOSE theorists, who are so anxious to reform the English House of Commons by transferring to *the people at large* the election of their representatives in parliament, might, on examining with attention the features of the Grison diet, fondly imagine, that an *annual* assembly, in the choice of whose members *every male* of the state should have a vote, and which, in all material occurrences, should be liable to *be directed by its constituents*, must *necessarily* be the purest sanctuary of general freedom. In this instance, however, their conjectures are by no means consonant to fact

fact and experience; as corruption and influence are not in any national parliament more conspicuous than in the diet of the Grisons.

For although, in general, those deputies, *annually chosen by every male of a stated age, are subject to be controuled in their votes by written orders from their constituents*, yet they frequently contrive to elude this restriction. Sometimes the instructions are drawn up, with the consent of the community, under the sole direction of the deputy himself; at other times an exemption from positive instructions, and the power of voting at his own pleasure, is purchased by the deputy from his constituents. Sometimes again the deputy, although he may not have interest sufficient to gain either of these points, has still sufficient address to get his instructions so obscurely worded as to admit a doubtful interpretation. By various intrigues of this kind the greatest part of the deputies ultimately acquire the power of voting as they please; and as they chiefly obtain this power by corrupting their constituents, most of them in return sell their vote to the leading members of the diet. For most questions are carried, and most causes decided by bribery. Nor can it well be otherwise, when the electors are persons in needy circumstances; and the members, who have purchased their seats, are not themselves exalted by their possessions above temptation.

Thus then the leading members secure an unbounded sway in the affairs of the diet. But still it should seem, that whatever influence they may obtain by corrupting the deputies;

puties; yet as that assembly itself does not in many cases decide finally, they could not acquire the same authority in those concerns, which must be referred to the determination of the communities at large. Here at least we might expect the unbiassed sense of the majority of the people. But it may be universally remarked, that the delegation of deliberative authority to the people at large unavoidably tends to introduce an actual, though not an acknowledged aristocracy. For a *numerous* populace summoned to determine upon political, legislative, and judicial questions, *far above their comprehensions*, must necessarily resign themselves to the direction of more informed men, especially when aided by the recommendation of superior wealth. As the deputies are generally the chiefs of those communities which they represent, they must of course have the principal influence, and easily find means to incline the opinion of the people to the side which they have espoused. In fact, without this aristocratical influence, the excess of freedom would often degenerate into anarchy, and public deliberations would be attended with endless disputes and factions.

If therefore corruption and aristocratical influence alone diminish factions and prevent anarchy in so poor a country as that of the Grisons, and in a republic scarcely known among the nations of Europe; to what a dreadful excess must the same evils prevail, if the *same* mode of electing, and giving instructions to, members of parliament, subsisted in a kingdom like England; where riches and luxury are continually advancing with such rapid strides; where the most important political and commercial debates are

agitated without restraint; and where the decisions of public affairs frequently affect the peace and interests of all Europe! Theoretical reasoners may, indeed, attempt to prove that the best method of preventing corruption is to augment the number of electors, from the chimerical idea, that *large numbers* cannot be bribed. But if we appeal from uncertain theory to more certain experience, we shall find, that this argument is contradicted by the history of all ages. Among the Grecian republics, those commonwealths in which the magistrates were chosen by the *people at large*, were the most venal. Among the Romans, the most effectual means which Julius Cæsar, the most able politician of his age, employed to subjugate his country, was to extend the privileges and votes of Roman citizens to *all* the inhabitants of Italy. The members of the Polish diet*, which is no less venal than the diet of the Grisons, are chosen by needy and *numerous* electors, of whom far the greatest part possess no property; and whose *numbers*, instead of preventing, necessarily tend to increase influence and corruption.

* See Travels into Poland, Russia, &c. Vol. I. B. I. c. vi. & viii.

LETTER 86.

VALLEY OF SOPRA SELVA — ILANTS — TRUNS —
DISENTIS — TAVETCH.

IMPATIENT to return to England, after so long an absence from my friends, I yesterday morning quitted Coire, and passed by Embs, and over the bridge of Reichenau, which I again stopped to admire, as it boldly projected over the Rhine. I then rode along the side of the mountains which separate the Grisons from the canton of Glarus, went through Tamins, and left Flims on my right, situated about a quarter of a mile from the road, in a pleasant plain. The houses of these towns are not scattered like those of Davos, but stand in separate clusters, like the burghs of Engadina. Having traversed thick forests of pines, and a very wild country, richly diversified with grain and pasture, I descended to the deep bed of the Rhine, and crossed it to Ilants.

ILANTS, the capital of the Grey League, is a small town, containing about sixty houses, and partly surrounded by walls; a circumstance which serves to distinguish it, as it is the only walled town, excepting Coire, among the Grisons. It is also remarkable for being the place, where the general diet of the three leagues assembles every third year. The adjacent country is fertile in every species of grain and pasture. The points of view are uncommonly fine, exhibiting

a small plain skirted by cultivated mountains, and backed by a ridge of barren rocks which bound the valley of Lungnets. The Romansh, which is spoken in these parts, differs considerably, both as to pronunciation and orthography, from that of Engadina. By the assistance of some persons to whom I had letters of recommendation, I procured several books written in the dialect of this league; these, in addition to others which I obtained in Engadina, have so considerably swelled my travelling library, that if I continue to increase the collection, I must hire an additional horse for the purpose of carrying my baggage of information.

THIS tract of country, stretching from Reichenau to the mountain of St. Gothard, is called the valley of Sopra Selva, and is the most populous part of the Grey League. On quitting Ilants I pursued my route at the foot of the mountains, through a plain covered with pasture and forest by the side of the Rhine, which is rapid and shallow. Afterwards I passed through a rocky country, continually ascending and descending through large tracts of forest. I crossed the Rhine several times during the last four or five miles: that river formed repeated cataracts, as I judged from the roaring sound, for the evening was so dark, that no objects could be distinguished.

I ARRIVED very late at Truns, remarkable in the history of this country as the place where the independence of the league was first ratified, and an alliance concluded between the chiefs and the communities. I observed an aged oak, which, according to tradition, is the same tree under which
the

the three chiefs confirmed the liberties of the league; and near it a chapel, whose walls are painted with a representation of the ceremony. My curiosity led me to the town-house, in which the diet of the Grey League is annually assembled. The room is well adapted for the purpose, and is handsomely painted with the arms of the several Landrichters, beginning from those of John of Lambris, the first person appointed to that office when the Grey League was formed. From this place of its meeting the assembly is always called the Diet of Truns. It consists of the same twenty-seven deputies who are appointed for the general diet of the three leagues, the two Landrichters, the abbot of Disentis, the representative of the House of Austria, as baron of Retzuns, and the Cau de Sax. All affairs relating to legislation, politics, and expenditure, which concern the general interest of the league, are agitated in this assembly; and the questions are decided by the majority of voices. At the same place is also assembled a court of appeal composed of sixteen * deputies, and the Landrichter, who has the casting voice. It hears and decides in the last resort all civil causes, above a

* These deputies are taken from the eight High Jurisdictions of the Grey League, in the following proportions :

From	Disentis	-	-	-	4
	Grub	-	-	-	2
	Lugnetz	-	-	-	2
	Waltenberg	-	-	-	3
	Rheinwald and Schams	-	-	-	2
	Retzuns	-	-	-	1
	Tufis	-	-	-	1
	Mafox	-	-	-	1
					16

certain

certain sum, which are brought by appeal from the decision of the civil courts in the several communities of the Grey League.

DISSENTIS, from whence I am now writing, takes its appellation from an abbey of that name, whose abbot was formerly sovereign over this part of the Grey League, and who, although his prerogatives have been gradually diminished, yet, as one of the chiefs of the league, still possesses no inconsiderable influence in the general administration of affairs. At the diet of Truns he not only votes, but has such weight, that few acts can pass in opposition to his will. In the court of appeal, although he is not present, he may be said to possess four votes, as the four deputies from the High Jurisdiction of Dissentis are generally nominated through his interest. Nor is his ascendancy confined to the Grey League; by the nomination of the Landrichter every third year, he secures four * votes in the congress for that sitting, and has also much power in the general diet of the Grisons by his influence over the deputies of the Grey League. His present revenue is very small, scarcely amounting to £.100 *per ann.*; in addition he receives a pension from the House of Austria, interested to secure his concurrence. He is chosen by the Benedictine monks, who compose the chapter; and is a prince of the German empire.

* He proposes for Landrichter three candidates, from whom one is nominated by the deputies, but the latter always appoint the person he recommends; and as the Landrichter appoints the three deputies to the congress, and is himself a member of the same assembly, the abbot may justly be said in that year to influence *four* votes in the congress.

THE abbey, which is situated upon the side of the mountain, is a large quadrangular building, and makes a magnificent appearance, as it overlooks the village. I was much disappointed at the absence of the abbot, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Coire: he is a man of considerable information, and had in his possession the key of the archives, which are said to contain several curious records of high antiquity. The monks who politely accompanied me over the abbey were able to give me but little intelligence. Besides the great church, they carried me to a small chapel, which is esteemed the most ancient in the whole country of the Grisons. Having been previously informed, that books in the Romanish tongue, for the use of the Roman Catholics, are frequently printed in this abbey, I procured several from the monks, particularly a vocabulary of the Romanish spoken in the valley of Sopra Selva.

DISENTIS is a straggling village lying upon a gentle declivity, which slopes gradually from the foot of the mountains to the banks of the Rhine. The sides of the mountains are clothed with groves of firs and small birch; the lower parts yield rich pasture, a small quantity of wheat, rye, and millet. Opposite Disentis is the valley of Medels, from which descends a torrent called the Middle Rhine, and joins the upper branch that flows from the chain of the St. Gothard. The communities of Disentis and Tavetch, which form a High Jurisdiction, occupy the western extremity of the valley of Sopra-Selva, stretching as far as the confines of Uri. The whole body of people assemble every two years at Disentis in the open air, for the choice of the Landamman,
and

and for the confirmation of their magistrates, as well as for the purpose of enacting laws. They nominate also to the governments of the subject provinces. The courts of judicature are established at Disentis; and the judges are chosen by the people in the separate districts. The general administration of affairs is entrusted to a council of sixteen, which gives instructions to their deputies, sent by the two communities to the general diet of the three leagues. The Landamman is president, and has the casting voice. The abbot enjoys the privilege of being present at all political questions, and of giving his vote. He has considerable influence in these communities. Formerly the fines for criminal offences belonged to him; but one of his predecessors having disposed of that right to the community, they are now divided among the judges.

September 30th.

I QUITTED Disentis this morning, and in about two hours entered the pleasant valley of Tavetch, lying at the foot of the Alps, which separate the Grisons from the canton of Uri. The villages of this valley are numerous, and consist of scattered cottages chiefly constructed of wood, and resembling the Swiss hamlets in the small cantons. I met many large herds of cattle just descended from the higher Alps, and driving towards the fairs of Tirano and Lugano.

THE valley of Tavetch produces pasture, hemp, and flax, and a small quantity of rye and barley. The trees growing in these parts are chiefly firs and pines, and their number gradually diminishes towards the extremity of the vale.

From

From Tavetch I ascended a very narrow path, and passed through Selva and Cimut, the last village in the country of the Grisons, where I took my farewell of the Romansh. The country became more and more wild as I ascended; and the Upper Rhine gradually diminished as I approached its source. A little beyond Cimut I came into a small plain of pasture, watered by two streams which unite and form the Upper Rhine. I had once intended to have visited the source of the principal stream, that precipitates from mount Badus; but finding, upon inquiry from the inhabitants of Selva, that it would employ at least five hours in going and returning; as the day was far advanced, and as my late illness has disqualified me for such fatiguing journeys, I thought it most prudent to pursue my route to Urseren. At Cimut, a peasant, who had frequently visited the spot, informed me, that the chief source of the Rhine descends from a glacier upon the summit of the Badus; and forms a piece of water about half a mile in circumference, called the lake of St. Thomas. From this lake issues a torrent, which precipitates itself from the mountain, and being joined by many springs and currents forms the largest of the two streams, which unite in the above-mentioned plain of pasture. On quitting this plain I ascended by the side of the smaller stream, until I traced it falling from a glacier close to the confines of the canton of Uri. The ascent, though abrupt and craggy, was not so difficult as the passage of the Braglio or the Muret. These Alps produce no trees, but are covered to a great height with herbage.

AFTER two hours continued ascent from the valley of Tavetch, I reached the highest point of the chain, which separates the country of the Uri: a few paces further I passed a post without any inscription, which marks the boundary between the two respective territories. Soon afterwards I arrived at a lake of an oblong shape, about a mile and a half in circumference. It is formed principally by a torrent that falls from the northern side of the same chain, which gives rise to the Rhine: the lake supplies a stream that may be called one of the sources of the Reufs. I followed it as it runs through a narrow plain until I came to a steep descent, where the beautiful valley of Urferen suddenly burst upon my view.

LETTER 87.

GENERAL IDEA OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE—
RELIGION—REVENUES—POPULATION.

DURING the course of my correspondence I have occasionally mentioned the judicial proceedings in some of the communities. I shall here remark in general, that throughout the three leagues the Roman law prevails, modified by the municipal customs. The courts of justice in each community are composed of the chief magistrate, who presides, and a certain number of jurymen chosen by the people: they have no regular salaries, but receive for their attendance a small sum, arising in some communities from the expenses of the process, which are defrayed by the criminals, in others from a share of the fines. They enjoy the power of pardoning or diminishing the penalty, and of receiving a composition in money. This mode of proceeding supposes, what is as absurd in theory as it is contrary to experience, that judges will incline to mercy when it is their *interest* to convict; or will impartially inflict punishment, even when injurious to their own private advantage. The prisoners are examined in private; frequently tortured, for the purpose of forcing confession, when the judges either divide the fines, or remit the punishment for a composition. In some districts a criminal prosecution is a kind of festival to the

judges, for whom a good repast * is provided at the expence of the prisoner if convicted; and thus the allusion, in Garth's Dispensary, applied with more wit than truth to our courts of justice, is literally fulfilled:

"And wretches hang, that jurymen may DINE."

Capital punishments, however, are extremely rare; a circumstance arising not from any peculiar lenity in the penal statutes, or from a propensity to mercy in the judges; but because the judges draw more advantages from fining than executing an offender. In a word, to use the expression of Burnet, which is no less true at present than it was in his time, "Many crimes go unpunished, if the persons who commit them have either great credit or much money."

It is remarkable that torture is more frequently applied, and for smaller delinquencies, in these independent republics, than in the subject provinces. The infliction of it depends entirely upon the arbitrary will of the judges, a majority of whom may order it to obtain the confession of an offence which is not capital, nor even punishable by corporal penalties. Thus it is not uncommon, in those communities where fines are divided among the judges, to torture women of loose conduct, for the purpose of compelling them to confess with whom they have been connected; for as in-

* A specific sum is allowed for the expence of the dinner, amounting in general to about 48 florins.

continence * is punishable by fines, the more persons are convicted, the larger share of money is distributed among the judges. Even in the districts, where the fines are paid to the community, torture is often no less wantonly inflicted, because when the prisoner is not found guilty, the expences of the process fall upon the public, and the judges receive less emolument.

EVEN in the civil courts most causes are decided by bribing the judges; and appeals in those communities, wherein they are admitted, scarcely serve any other end than to enlarge the sphere of corruption: Coire and a few other places are excepted from this general reflection. This description comprehends the course of jurisprudence throughout the Grisons; and how can it be expected, that the governors of the subject provinces should impartially administer justice, when their power is enlarged, and they enjoy greater means of enriching themselves; since they have such continual examples of injustice and venality in their own country?

BEFORE I close the account of the courts of judicature, it may be necessary to mention the *Straffgericht* †, or public chamber

* In many of the communities incontinence between married persons	}	200 florins.
is punished by a fine of - - - - -		
A married and single person - - - - -		150
Persons unmarried - - - - -		100
A pound sterling is equal to about 13½ Grison florins.		

† Paschal, the French ambassador from Henry the Fourth to the Grisons, gives, in his *Rhetica Legatione*, the following definition of a *Straffgericht*: *Straffgerichtum, est is hominum, paucis exceptis, imperitorum, ac truculentorum confessus, qui rebus turbidis*

chamber of justice, which was established upon particular occasions, and in the most alarming crisis of affairs, by the consent of the general diet; and which, during its sittings, had jurisdiction over the three leagues. It was chiefly held in cases of high treason, and is thus justly described by Burnet, “ There is a part of this constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest men in it tremble: “ the peasants come sometimes in great bodies, and demand “ a chamber of justice from the general diet, and they are “ bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which “ comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this “ tumult of the peasants is set on by some of the mal-contented gentry, and generally there are a great many sacrifices made. This court is composed of ten judges out “ of every league, and twenty advocates, who manage “ such accusations as are presented to them; this court is “ paramount to law, and acts like a court of inquisition, “ they give the question, and do every thing that they think “ necessary to discover the truth of such accusations as are “ presented to them; and the decisions of this court can “ never be brought under a second review; though there is “ an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one “ court of justice reversed all that another had done; but “ that is a single instance.”

THESE meetings, very usual in the last century, were always attended with such dreadful effects as nearly to en-

turbidis a motu, et lasciviente, multitudine educitur in hoc, ut sæviat in personas, et fortunas eorum, quos vel sua pravitas, si facinorosi homines sint, aut si boni, sua infelicitas, his duris capitibus mactandos objicit: igitur ea omnia ibi aspere et violenter ex rumore et libidine plebis et partis iratæ agit, hanc sæviendi occasionem jamdiu aucupantis.

danger

danger the ruin of the republic. The present generation, grown wiser by experience, and either aware of the dreadful effects of such licentious proceedings, or less agitated with intestine dissensions, have never had recourse to these sanguinary measures: accordingly these courts are now so totally fallen into disuse, that they may be considered as obsolete, although they have never been abolished by public authority.

THE religion of the Grisons is divided into Catholic and Reformed, the only two persuasions which are tolerated in this country. By the reformed is meant what we call Calvinism, although it is not the same as was established at Geneva. For as the reformation was introduced into this country by the disciples of Zuingli, the religion of the Protestant Grisons bears a greater resemblance to that settled at Zurich, than to the church of Geneva; although the difference between these two sects is so trifling, that they may be considered as holding the same tenets. Among the Grisons the Protestants are more numerous than the Catholics, the former being estimated at about two-thirds of the inhabitants; and Stanyan justly asserts*, that “as all their elections are decided by the plurality of voices, the republic of the Grisons may be deemed a Protestant state.”

THE reformation was introduced very early into this country: the new doctrines were first preached about the

* State of Switzerland. p. 228.

year 1524, and received at Fläsch, a small village in the Ten Jurisdictions, upon the confines of Sargans; from thence they were extended to Mayenfield and Malantz, and soon afterwards through the whole valley of Pretigau. The reformed opinions spread with such celerity, that before the end of the sixteenth century they were embraced by the whole league of the Ten Jurisdictions, (excepting part of the community of Alvenew), the greatest part of the House of God, and a few communities in the Grey League.

THE difference of religion nearly excited a civil war between the two sects, as well at the first introduction of the reformation, as at the beginning of the troubles in the Valteline. In the latter instance the two parties rose in arms, but the Catholics being overpowered by the Protestants, matters were amicably adjusted. Since that period, all religious concerns have been regulated with perfect cordiality. According to the general consent of the three leagues, each community, being absolute within its little territory, has the power of appointing its own particular worship, and the inhabitants are free to follow either the Catholic or Reformed persuasion. In the administration of civil affairs religion has no interference; the deputies of the general diet may be members of either communion, as chosen by the communities which they represent. By this moderate and tolerating principle, all religious dissensions have been suppressed as much as possible; and the most perfect amity subsists between the two sects.

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IN spiritual concerns the Catholics for the most part are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coire. For the affairs of the Reformed churches, each league is divided into a certain number of districts, the ministers whereof assemble twice every year: these assemblies are called *colloquia*. Each *colloquium* has its president, and each league a superintendent, called a dean. The supreme authority in spiritual concerns is vested in the synod, which is composed of the three deans, and the clergy of each league: the synod assembles every year reciprocally in each of the three leagues. Candidates for holy orders are examined before the synod. The necessary qualification for admission into the church ought to be the knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: but this rule is not strictly adhered to; many being ordained without the least acquaintance with either of those languages. Formerly Latin was solely used, as well in the debates of the synod as for the purpose of examining the candidates; but at present that tongue grows more and more into disuse, and German is employed in its stead.

THE number of reformed parishes in the whole three Leagues amount to 135, in the following proportion. In the Grey League 46, in that of God's House 53, and in the League of Ten Jurisdictions 36. The ministers of these churches enjoy but very small salaries. The richest benefices do not perhaps yield more than £. 20, or at most £. 25 *per ann.* and the poorest sometimes scarcely £. 6. This scanty income is attended with many inconveniences. It obliges the clergy, who have families, to follow some branch of traffic, to the neglect of their ecclesiastical studies, and to the degradation

of the professional character. Another inconvenience is superadded to the narrowness of their income. In most communities the ministers, though confirmed by the synod, are chosen by the people of the parish, and are solely dependent on their bounty. For these reasons the candidates for holy orders are generally extremely ignorant. They cannot support that expence which is requisite to pursue their studies; they are not animated with the expectation of a decent competence; and, from the dependent mode of their election, are not encouraged to deserve their promotion by a consistent dignity of character. But there are not wanting a few men of great knowledge and eminence, as well in their professional studies as in other branches of polite learning. Beside Mr. Aporta, whom I look up to as a kind of phænomenon in the literary world, I have met with two or three clergymen who are greatly distinguished for their erudition, and who would do credit to any church.

It is remarkable, that the liturgies of these Reformed churches are not exactly the same; a diversity owing to the independence of so many small commonwealths, which are absolute, within their little territories, in all concerns that do not affect the political union of the three Leagues. The churches of the German communities use the liturgy of Zurich; but as this form of prayer was amended and refined in 1766, some of the ministers admit the new, and others still retain the antient liturgy.

STEPHEN GABRIEL, pastor of Ilantz, a person of great learning in the beginning of the last century, translated into
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the Romanish of the Grey League the liturgy of Zurich; and the same form of prayer is used in Upper and Lower Engadina, adapted to their respective idioms*. The ministers of the Italian churches employ a translation of the Genevan liturgy†.

THE old style is in use among the Protestants, the new style among the Catholics; a few years ago an attempt was made to introduce the latter among the Protestants. The inhabitants of Pregalia admitted it, and those of Upper Engadina offered also to receive it, if the town of Coire would set the example. Its admission, however, being strongly opposed by a party on religious scruples, it was absolutely rejected, and the inhabitants of Pregalia again adopted the old style‡.

THE revenues of the three Leagues arise from the following articles: 1. The duties upon the merchandise which passes through the Grisons, the Valteline, and Chiavenna: they are farmed at the annual rate of 17,000 florins, or about £. 1259. 2. A third of the fines laid upon delinquents in the subject countries: the fluctuating state of this article cannot be ascertained. 3. A tribute of 500 philips § from the Valteline, and 100 from Chiavenna. 4. A small fund,

* For the Romanish spoken in Upper and Lower Engadina, see Letter 90.

† In 1749 a new service was introduced into the churches of Pregalia; but, on account of its length, soon fell into disuse.

‡ I am informed, that since my departure from the Grisons the new style has been adopted by several Protestant communities.

§ A philip = 5 s.

the principal part of which is only £.4,000, vested in the English stocks. The public expenditure is very trifling, being chiefly confined to the expences incurred by the fittings of the diet, and the salary assigned to the deputies for their attendance. Besides this public treasury, each League has its own fund. The pensions received from the foreign powers are paid annually at the meeting of the diet, when they are equally divided between the three Leagues; and each deputy delivers the share to the community which he represents.

MANY disputes have occasionally arisen among the Grisons in regard to the power of coining, and several of the communities have asserted their claim to the exercise of that right. The fact is, that each community might doubtless coin money, and order it to be taken within its own little territory; but as it could not make it pass in the other parts, the right is merely nominal. According to the general consent of the three Leagues, this privilege is vested in the town of Coire, in the bishop of that diocese, and in the baron of Haldenstein*. No money is, however, struck in the Grisons, excepting a small copper coin called blutſger, which is somewhat less than a halfpenny. The gold and silver current in the country is chiefly Austrian and French.

I HAVE bestowed no inconsiderable degree of pains in order to ascertain the population of the Grisons, but my labours have not been attended with the success which I had

* And I believe in the abbot of Disentis.

reason to expect. I have not been able to procure any particular and certain detail of the number of inhabitants, and can only subjoin the following rough calculation :

The Grey League is supposed to contain about	-	54,000 souls.
League of God's House-	-	29,000
League of Ten Jurisdictions	-	15,000
		98,000

If we add 87,000, the number of inhabitants in the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, the whole population of the Grisons, and the subject countries, will amount to only 185,000 souls; and allowing for deficiencies will scarcely exceed 200,000.

LETTER 88.

COMMERCE OF THE GRISONS — CANAL OF THE
ADDA.

THE commerce of the Grisons is extremely contracted. The only exports (exclusive of those from the subject provinces) being cheese and cattle. They import grain, rice, salt, and silk stuffs, from Milan; grain from Suabia and Tyrol; salt from Tyrol and Bavaria; fine cloth, chiefly English, French, and Silesian, through Germany; fine linen and muslins from Switzerland; and as the only manufacture throughout the whole country is that of cotton established at Coire, it is evident that the balance of trade must turn considerably against them. They are enabled to support this difference by means of the estates which the Grisons possess in the subject provinces, by the sums which the governors draw from those provinces, by public and private pensions from France and Austria, by money saved in foreign services, and by the duties upon the merchandise passing through their territories.

As most of the Grison peasants weave cloth and linen for the use of their families; it would be no difficult undertaking to introduce manufactures in different districts. But it is remarkable, that in these little republics a strange prejudice prevails against commerce; and that the project of establishing manufactures is opposed by many leading men
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of the country. It is difficult to discover the occasion of these illiberal principles; it has been imputed to a suspicion, that if the people should become opulent by commerce, they would be less open to influence; and the powerful families, who now direct the public affairs, would lose their ascendancy. Besides these reasons, which are of too delicate a nature to be openly acknowledged, other motives of a more generous complexion have been assigned.

THE advocates against extending commerce assert, that as the true riches of every country consist in the products of agriculture, all occupations, which turn the attention of the people from that one great object, are detrimental to the general good of society; and particularly, that in free states manufactures tend to enervate the inhabitants, to introduce the baneful effects of luxury, to depress the spirit of freedom, and to destroy the general simplicity of manners. These arguments, however specious in appearance, will prove fallacious upon mature consideration. If in a country, which subsists chiefly by agriculture, manufactures are pursued to the total neglect of husbandry, they then become detrimental: but this is seldom the case; as, by adding to the general consumption, manufactures usually tend to increase, instead of diminishing, the products of the earth. Such have been the effects in the mountains of Neuchatel, where the forests have been cleared, and the country converted into pasture, or sown with grain. Manufactures and commerce are still farther serviceable by encouraging an increase of inhabitants, which form the true riches of a country. For whenever constant opportunities of employing a number of
hands

hands occur, children will not be a burden to the peasants, the contrary of which must happen in those districts which afford little occupation.

WITH respect to the Grisons in particular; their territory being entirely mountainous will not yield sufficient produce for the inhabitants, consequently some means of supplying the deficiency must be adopted. Now surely it would be far more honourable to pursue commerce, even if attended with some unavoidable inconveniences, than to depend for their subsistence upon foreign subsidies, to oppress and exhaust the subject provinces, and to exhibit a regular system of venality, which almost pervades the whole mass of people. Nor does the establishment of manufactures tend to enervate the inhabitants, and to diminish the spirit of freedom. In fact, the manufactures in these democratical states are by no means similar to those introduced into large towns, where a number of individuals are collected in the same spot: on the contrary, the work is divided, and distributed among the peasants, who, with their wives and children, weave the cloth at home. By this method they preserve (as I had occasion to remark in the canton of Appenzel) their original simplicity of manners, and maintain the spirit of freedom, even to a greater degree, than in those parts where there is no commerce. Examples are not wanting among the Grisons themselves: the natives of Upper Engadina, who are so much inclined to trade, are in reality more free and less influenced than the people of the other communities; nor is it observed, that the inhabitants of the valley of Pretigau have become more enervated, since they

they have been employed in preparing cotton for the manufacture at Coire. In fact, that kind of occupation does not always take the peasants from more active employments. In summer they are at leisure to cultivate the earth, while their wives and children attend principally to the manufactures: during the long winters, which last in these Alpine regions for six months without intermission, agriculture is necessarily suspended; and these occupations succeed the more laborious exertions of the field.

As the principal commerce of the Grisons and the subject provinces is carried on across the lake of Como with Milan, I shall give you an account of the inland navigation, which has been lately established for the purpose of facilitating that commerce; the several parts of which I had the curiosity to visit. The water communication between the country of the Grisons and Milan is formed by the lake of Como, by its branch the lake of Lecco, by the Adda, by the canals of the Adda and Trezzo. The canal of Trezzo, called also *Canale della Martesana*, begins at Trezzo, situated on the Adda, and is carried to Milan. This cut, which is 24 miles in length, begun in 1457, under the reign of Francis Sforza, and completed in 1460, did not at first serve for the purpose of navigation more than two days in the week; being principally used for overflowing the low grounds with water, necessary for the cultivation of rice. In 1573, during the administration of the duke of Aberquerque, Spanish governor of Milan, the cut was enlarged, and the body of water so much increased, as to admit the passage of vessels every day.

STILL, however, the Adda was not navigable during the whole way between the lake of Lecco and Trezzo; and consequently there was no water communication between the lake of Como and Milan. The navigation of that river was interrupted by a succession of cataracts for about a mile, during which space the fall of water is equal to the perpendicular height of about 80 feet.

IN order to obviate this inconvenience, a canal was projected, in 1519, but no part was carried into execution, excepting a mole, which was thrown across the Adda. In 1591 the work was undertaken, and the canal completed in 1599. But the stream of the Adda was no sooner admitted into the cut, than the banks broke down, for so considerable a way, as to render all repairs impracticable. This breach, generally imputed to the violence of the current, was principally owing to the nature of the rock, in which the cut was excavated, and to an error in the original plan. The rock is a composition of gravel and sand, or a species of pudding-stone, of loose texture and unequal solidity; and as the cut was made too near the precipice, which overhangs the Adda, that part of the rock which formed the banks of the canal was not sufficiently strong to support the sluices and the weight of water. From that time the canal was considered an impracticable work, and abandoned; until a few years ago it was again undertaken by order of the emperor Joseph the Second, and carried on with such expedition, as to be finished within the space of three years.

THE canal is about a mile in length, and is excavated in the rocks, which form the precipitous banks of the Adda. In some places the rock has been hollowed to the depth of 100 feet, and the breadth of 200. The fall of water, which is equal to the perpendicular height of about 80 feet, is broken by six sluices; and the water is supplied by the running stream of the Adda. The breadth of the canal is 70 feet. The expence has already amounted to near £. 100,000. The engineers, however, seem to have fallen into the same error which attended the original plan; by forming the cut too near the precipice. In consequence of this inadvertence, the water lately forced down the banks of the canal; and the damage was not repaired without much difficulty and a considerable expence. Notwithstanding the precaution of letting out the superfluous water by flood-gates, there is reason to apprehend, that these breaches will be frequent; and that the recent labours may be rendered as ineffectual as those of the Spaniards. But should the canal continue in its present state, and the navigation not be interrupted; yet the advantages will hardly compensate for the expence of making and keeping it in repair. The commerce between the Grisons and inhabitants of Milan is so extremely contracted, that if all the merchandize which passes between these two people was conveyed along the canals, the tolls and duties would be very inadequate to the expence.

BUT the navigation from the lake of Como to Milan is attended with so many difficulties, that the greatest part of the merchandize is sent by land, as the most commodious and less hazardous way. The current of the Adda is so

rapid, that the vessels cannot be towed up without great expence and delay, and is in some parts so extremely dangerous, that boats are not unfrequently overfet. The only persons, therefore, who forward their merchandise along the Adda and the canals to the lake of Lecco are the contractors, who furnish the Grisons with corn and salt, and who are compelled by the government of Milan to send those commodities by water. And when it is considered that Milan receives from the Grisons only planks, stones for building, and coals, and supplies them with corn, rice, and salt; the articles of export evidently exceed those of import; and the navigation from Milan to the lake of Como is of more consequence than that from the lake of Como to Milan. The canal of the Adda, therefore, which has only facilitated the inland navigation from the Grisons to Milan, and not from Milan to the Grisons, though a work of extreme difficulty, and redounding greatly to the honour of the sovereign who completed it, will scarcely produce advantages equal to its original cost and frequent repairs*.

* The curious reader is referred to the Abbe Frisi's account of the Canals of the Adda, and Trezzo, and of the other navigable canals in the Milanese. See *Pauli Frisi Opera*, Tom. ii. *Dei Canali Navigabili di Lombardia*, 4to. Lib. ii. Cap. 3, 4, & 5.

L E T T E R 89.

ALLIANCES OF THE GRISONS WITH THE SWISS
CANTONS—FRANCE—VENICE—AND THE HOUSE
OF AUSTRIA.

THE alliances of the Grisons with foreign powers come next under consideration.

THE Three Leagues, though always esteemed allies of the Swifs, yet are not, strictly speaking, in confederacy with all the cantons. In 1497 the Grey League, and in the following year the League of God's House, entered into a perpetual treaty with Zurich, Lucern, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug and Glaris. Although the League of Ten Jurisdictions was not included in the same treaty, yet it was afterwards declared that, in consequence of its connection with the other two leagues, it should be entitled to the same assistance and good offices. The Three Leagues are in close alliance with Berne and Zurich, to whose mediation they have frequently had recourse in points of disagreement. By these treaties the Grisons are called allies of the Swifs; and, in consequence of a request from the particular cantons, with which they are united, would, in case of invasion or rebellion, be supplied with succours from all the Swifs Republics.

THE Grisons contracted the first alliance with France in 1509 with Lewis the Twelfth, and in 1516 were comprised
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in the treaty of perpetual peace between Francis the First and the Helvetic body. Since that period they have, as occasion offered, renewed their private confederacy with the kings of France; but they were not comprehended in the late treaty of Soleure, concluded between Louis the Sixteenth and the other states of Switzerland. The king of France maintains an envoy in this country, and has two Grifon regiments in his service*.

IN 1707 a treaty was formed between the Grifons on the one side, queen Anne and the United Provinces on the other, for permitting the free passage of troops marching into Italy. This is the only alliance by which the Grifons, as a particular state, are connected with England. Our court formerly had a minister in the country, but for some time the English envoy to the Swiss cantons resident at Berne, has transacted business with this republic.

THE Venetians, for the purpose of procuring the free passage of the Valteline, had often solicited an alliance with the Grifons; but their projects were always defeated by the influence of the Spanish monarch, who possessed the Milanese; nor were they able to effectuate the accomplishment of their design, until the Spanish branch of the House of Austria became extinct in the person of Charles the Second. Soon after that event, when Milan was the object of contention between the emperor and the French, the Venetians obtained the consent of the Grifons to enter into a treaty of

* It is probable, however, that they have since contracted a separate treaty with France.

alliance

alliance offensive and defensive, which was ratified at Coire the 17th of December 1706. By this accommodation it was stipulated, among other articles on the side of the Venetians, to pay an annual pension of 711 Spanish doubloons, and to furnish the Grisons in time of war with a thousand Venetian ducats per month: in return, the Grisons agreed to permit the passage of the Venetian troops through the Valteline, and to make a road leading from Morbegno over the mountain of St. Mark into the Venetian territories, by which accommodation the merchandise might be conveyed to and from Venice to Germany without going through the Tyrol.

THIS treaty, concluded for twenty years, was to continue in force for the same additional period, unless one of the contracting parties should withdraw before the expiration of the first term; but though obtained by the Venetians with much trouble and expence, it was not long fulfilled by either of the negotiating powers. In a few years the Venetians omitted payment of the annual pension, and the Grisons neglected to make the road over the mountain of St. Mark. The two republics, however, continued upon terms of amity; and the Venetians, soon after the expiration of the forty years, desirous of renewing the treaty, offered to discharge the arrears of the pension, if the Grisons would open the proposed communication over the mountain of St. Mark. For this purpose an envoy was dispatched to the Grisons in 1759, and no promises were spared to promote the negotiation: it failed, however, through the influence of the empress of Germany. The Grisons rejected the proposals of Venice, and still further alienated that republic by the capitulation of Milan.

Milan. In consequence of this conduct, the Venetians were so incensed as to banish the Grisons who were settled within their territories; and all connection is now interrupted between the two republics.

THE treaties with the House of Austria, as sovereigns of the Milanese, remain to be considered. It is not my purpose to mention any treaties which the Grisons contracted with the dukes of Milan of the house of Sforza, or those by which Philip the Second and his successors acknowledged their claim to the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio; but I shall begin with the celebrated alliance, or, as it is called, the *Capitulation* of Milan in 1639; because it superseded all others, and established that close connection between the Grisons and the House of Austria, which has since continued with little interruption.

THE following are the principal articles in this capitulation, concluded between Philip the Fourth, king of Spain, as duke of Milan, and the Three Leagues: An hereditary and perpetual peace between the two contracting powers: Weekly fairs to be established in the neighbouring towns of the Milanese, in which the Grisons may purchase grain, and also enjoy a free trade, for the purpose of importing and exporting all kinds of merchandise and arms, upon paying only the accustomed duties: A free passage through the territories of the Grisons for the Spanish troops, with a reserve, that no more than a company of 150 infantry, and a troop of 60 cavalry, shall march through the same day: Free passage of the Grison troops through the Milanese, upon condition

dition that they do not march against the allies of Spain, and that more than two or three companies do not pass at one time. The king may levy at his own expence, in cases of necessity, a body of troops not exceeding 6000 nor less than 2000, for his service against all his enemies, except the confederates of the Grisons, and particularly the republic of Venice. All Grison troops in the service of any state or sovereign, intending to attack the territories of the king of Spain shall be immediately recalled; and all officers and soldiers, who enroll themselves in any foreign service, shall be forbidden to invade his majesty's territories. Should the Grisons be engaged in war, the king obliges himself to furnish, within fifteen days, 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry; but if they prefer assistance in money, to pay 1000 scudi * per month as long as the war lasts; also to send into the country of Chiavenna six pieces of campaign artillery, with ammunition sufficient for the service of the war. No troops shall be allowed to pass through the respective territories to the disadvantage of the two contracting parties. To each league the king promises an annual pension of 1500 scudi; and also to pay for the education of two students from each league at Pavia or Milan, besides a donation of sixty scudi to each student.

ALL ancient alliances with any other powers are permitted to remain in force on both sides, and on the part of the Grisons, the continuance of their treaty with France is particularly stipulated: they promise, however, that they will not

* A Milanese scudo = to about 4 s. 6 d.

renew it in case of a rupture between the two crowns; and if renewed, they will declare at the same time that it is to be suspended during such a rupture, and that they will not for the future contract an alliance with any foreign power to the prejudice of this perpetual peace. Should either parties be attacked, the other, without any regard to the stipulations in favour of their ancient allies, is bound to give assistance, except however on his majesty's part, the German branch of the House of Austria; if that house should engage in war with the Grisons, for the maintenance of its rights in the territory of the Grisons.

THE causes which gave rise to this capitulation, as well as the articles respecting the Valteline, having been already related *; it will be necessary only to remark, that the Spaniards guaranteed to the Grisons the possession of their subject provinces, and to the subjects the confirmation of their privileges. In case of any dissention between the Grisons and their subjects, the dispute is to be referred to the mediation of the king of Spain.

THIS treaty, signed at Milan on the 3d of September 1639, by the marquis de Legnes, governor of Milan, on the part of the Spanish king, and on the other by the deputies of the Three Leagues, was preserved inviolate, and a good understanding maintained between the contracting powers, until the extinction of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria in the person of Charles the Second. During the war of

* Letter 75.

the succession, which followed his death, the Milanese frequently changed its masters, until it was secured to the emperor Charles the Sixth by the peace of Utrecht. Charles had no sooner firmly established his power in his new dominions, than he turned his attention to the Grisons, and prevailed upon them to renew the capitulation of Milan. One of the principal arguments which gave success to his negotiation, was the promise, not only of continuing the annual pension, but even of discharging the arrears, which amounted to twenty-nine payments. This new treaty, in which the German branch of the House of Austria succeeded to the place of the Spanish, was concluded on the 24th of October 1726, by count Daun, governor of Milan, in the name of Charles the Sixth, and the deputies of the Three Leagues. It confirmed and ratified the ancient capitulation of 1639, with a few modifications and additions, of which the principal are the following. The duties upon corn purchased by the Grisons in the Milanese are lowered two-thirds. The tenth article in the first treaty, by which all Gison troops in the service of any state designing to attack the territories of the House of Austria are subject to immediate recall, is annulled; and the Grisons are free to serve any foreign prince in time of war without incurring the breach of this capitulation. The number of students educated at the expence of the emperor is increased to twelve. On the 8th of February 1763, this hereditary league was renewed by count Firmian, minister plenipotentiary, in the name of the empress of Germany as sovereign of Milan, and the deputies of the Three Leagues. By this treaty the capitulations of 1639 and 1726 are ratified, and

serve as the basis of the present union; they are also augmented by the following articles. The empress renounces all right to the lake of Chiavenna, together with a small portion of the adjacent territory, and cedes them in perpetuity to the Grisons. The limits between the Milanese and the territory of the Grisons are accurately fixed. In return for this cession, the Grisons agree to erect no fortifications upon the ceded territory, impose no new taxes upon the transport of merchandise, make no new roads; and, according to the former capitulation, no troops shall be permitted to pass to the prejudice of the state of Milan. The empress promises to obtain from the pope an abolition of several ecclesiastical privileges in the Valteline, highly detrimental to society; also to prevent the bishop of Como from granting ecclesiastical privileges to those who, without entering into orders, assume the clerical dress, and are thereby entitled to the immunities of the church; also to correct several other abuses, which render the clergy of the Valteline independent of secular authority, and in civil and criminal causes only amenable to the bishop of Como. The weekly fairs for the purchase of grain are abolished, and in their stead the House of Austria agrees to supply the Grisons with a certain quantity for themselves and for the subject countries, according to the current price of corn in the Milanese. The duties upon merchandise exported from the Milanese are lowered, and the customs both in that country and in the territory of the Grisons are established upon a permanent footing, for which purpose a table of the duties is annexed to the treaty.

AT present the House of Austria directs all the affairs of the Grisons with the most unbounded authority. That power has acquired this sway by regularly discharging the public pensions, by holding the leading members of the diet in its pay, by being a guarantee of the Valteline, and mediator in all the disputes between the Grisons and their subjects.

L E T T E R 90.

LANGUAGES OF THE GRISONS — PARTICULARLY
THE ROMANSH — ITS ANTIQUITY — ORIGIN —
AND TWO PRINCIPAL DIALECTS.

THE languages of the Grisons are the Italian, German, and Romansh. The Italian, which is a jargon similar to the Milanese dialect, is spoken by the inhabitants of Pregalia and Puschiamo, and in the valleys of Mafox and Calanca.

THE German is spoken throughout the whole League of the Ten Jurisdictions, a few villages excepted; in the League of God's House, at Avers, Coire, and the four villages; and in the Grey League, at Splügen, Cepina, and other villages of the Rheinwald, at Valts, in the valley of St. Pedro, at Tufis, Reichenau, Feldsperg, Tamins, Meyerhof, Versam, and Valendros.

SOME of the earliest and most authentic writers upon the Grisons have asserted, that the natives of the Rheinwald speak a Celtic idiom, a language neither German or Romansh, but more similar to the German; although they are entirely surrounded by people of a different tongue, and are neither contiguous, nor have any great intercourse, with the
German

German inhabitants. From this remarkable circumstance they are led to conjecture, that the natives of the Rheinwald are descended from the *Lepontii*, a Celtic nation, and considered as the original inhabitants of this country before the influx of the Tuscans; and they ground the proofs of this assertion upon the numerous names of many castles which seem to be derived from a * Celtic or German origin. This hypothesis, however, rests upon a wrong basis, and is grounded upon two mistakes. For in the first place, the language of the Rheinwald is German; and, secondly, although the inhabitants of this district are immediately surrounded by persons speaking the Italian and Romansh, yet they are within half a day's journey of Roncaglia, Tufis, and Furstennau, where German is the common language. It is more probable, therefore, that the Rheinwald was peopled by a German colony, which penetrated into these regions in the darker ages, when the Germans issued from their forests, and spread themselves over Europe. With respect to the German names of castles and towns we may remark, that many of them are corrupted from the Romansh, that others have been adopted in later times; and as a proof, that the Romansh is more ancient in this country than the German, the greatest part of the mountains, vallies, and oldest castles, have Ro-

* Cluverius and other authors have erroneously supposed the Gothic and Celtic nations to have been the *same*, and their language to have given rise to the Teutonic or German: but the learned translator (Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore) of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, has established, be-

yond a doubt, that the Celtic and Gothic nations were originally different, and that there was not the least affinity between the languages; the Celtic having given rise to the old Gallic, British, Erse, &c. &c. and the Gothic to the German. See Translator's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

manſh appellations, even in the diſtricts inhabited by the Germans *.

THIS circumſtance leads me to the conſideration of the Rhetian, or as it is more commonly called, the † Romanſh, which is the vernacular tongue among the greateſt part of the Griſons; a language in former times more extenſively diffuſed than it is at preſent, being ſpoken at Coire and the adjacent diſtricts, and through the Tyrol, as far as Innspruck. I had the good fortune to meet with a German tranſlation of Mr. Planta's excellent Treatiſe upon the Romanſh of the Griſons, of which I had before ſeen the original in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1775. The peruſal of this treatiſe firſt excited my inquiries; and although I am obliged to differ from the ingenious author in a few inſtances, yet I hold myſelf indebted to him, for having greatly facilitated my reſearches, and for a more accurate knowledge of the ſubject than I could otherwiſe have obtained.

THE Romanſh of this country is divided into two principal dialeſts, the one ſpoken in the Grey League, and the other in that of God's Houſe. Theſe two dialeſts, although materially varying as to pronunciation and orthography, are yet ſufficiently ſimilar in the general arrangement and ex-

* The German names adopted from the Romanſh are very numerous; ſuch as *Chur* from *Curia* or *Coire*, *Splugen* or *Speluga*, *Ceppina*, *Tuſis* or *Toſſan*, *Davos*, *Pretigau* or *Rhetigoua*, *Caſtels*, &c.

The following German names are evidently of a very late date: *Furſtenau*, *Fur-*

ſtenberg, *Haldenſtein*, *Lichtenſtein*, *Heinzenberg*, *Reichenau*, *Rheinwald*, &c. as will eaſily be allowed by any one converſant in that tongue.

† It is called by the natives *Arumaunſh*, *Rumaunſch*, *Romanſch*, *Lingua Romanſcha*.
preſſions,

pressions, to be comprised within the same inquiry. It must always be extremely difficult to trace the origin of any language: for etymologists are too apt to build a favourite system, by mistaking a partial for a general resemblance; and finding a few similar expressions in two languages, which in other respects are essentially different, conclude them to be derived from the same stock. The Grison writers, however, pretend, that the proofs of the antiquity and origin of their language are too well founded to admit of the least doubt. They assert that the Rhetian tongue is derived from the Latin, or from a dialect of the Latin; and the arguments upon which they ground their assertion may be reduced to three principal heads. 1. The history of the country. 2. The names of places which have evidently a Latin origin. 3. Its similarity to the Latin, and to other languages derived mediately or immediately from the Latin.

1. THE history of the country. Livy, who has given the earliest account of these Alps, informs us, that under the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, a colony of Tuscans, driven from Lombardy by the Gauls, settled in these mountainous regions; and the same historian adds, that in his time the Rhetians, who were descended from these first colonists, still retained some traces of the Tuscan pronunciation, although vitiated by lapse of time and change of situation. Since that period, we have no positive documents of any subsequent emigration, although it is probable, that upon many occasions in which the Italians quitted their country, they retired to these Alps, and mixed with the natives. In some of these excursions it is likely, that the inhabitants of La-

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tium, or others, who spoke the Latin, or at least a dialect of that tongue, which must have had a considerable affinity to the Tuscan, established themselves in these regions; but whether this settlement happened during the invasion of Hannibal, or at any subsequent period, cannot be exactly ascertained. About the time of the Cæsars, Rhetia became an object of Roman conquest; and frequent expeditions were made into these parts, until the whole country was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a prætor resident at Coire. During that period, many Roman families established themselves in these Alps, and diffused the knowledge of their language. On the decline of the Roman power, Rhetia came under the dominion of the Franks, a German nation. The new people introduced their own tongue into many places; and in others, gave a new turn and modification to the Latin, by the addition of auxiliary verbs, and by the frequent use of the articles.

2. THE second proof of the derivation of the Romans from the Latin rests upon the numerous names of mountains, rivers, towns, and castles, which evidently seem to have a Roman origin. To use the words of the ecclesiastical historian*, whom I have so often quoted; “Persons versed in classic antiquity, who travel among the Grisons, will, from the frequency of Latin appellations, conceive that they are passing through Latium, Etruria, and Campania. They will trace the ancient names *Ardeates*, *Vettones*, *Sentimates*, *Samnites*, in Ardets, Vettan, Sent, and Samnun. They will

* Aporta, Hist. I. p. 6.

meet with mount *Umbria*, the river *Albula*, the towns *Antium*, *Susa*, *Lavinium*, *Tutium*, *Seaptia*, *Silium*, *Cernetia*, and many others: derivations so plain and so frequently occurring evidently certify their origin."

3. THE affinity of the Romansh, as well to the Latin, as to the languages immediately derived from the Latin. First, a collateral argument in favour of its derivation from the Latin may be deduced from the word *Romansh*, the general appellation of the language, and the particular dialect of Engadina, called *Ladin*; both these terms having in effect the same signification, *Latin* * and *Roman* being synonymous. But without insisting too much on this conjecture, we need only refer to a book written in the Grison tongue, to perceive the general affinity of its vocabulary to that of the Latin. In this comparison, however, great allowance must be made for the variation, which must have taken place between a mother tongue, as written in the best authors, and its offspring, which for many centuries was merely colloquial, and which has not only been occasionally intermixed with other languages, but has suffered a change in its general modification by the admission of the German syntax.

YET it by no means follows, that the Romansh, although the undoubted offspring of the Latin, should have been

* *Latin* and *Ladin* are the same words, only differently pronounced: for it must be evident to any one the least conversant with different languages, how often the *t* and the *d* are substituted for each other. Quintilian says that the old Romans frequently wrote a *t*, before they had any fixed rules of orthography, instead of a *d*; for *Alexander*—*Alexanter*.

derived immediately from that language, such as it is found in the best authors, or as conformed to writing during any period of the Roman æra; but rather, that it owed its origin to the vulgar tongue, as it was spoken by the people, or to some provincial dialect of Italy. In all living tongues there is a colloquial as well as a written language: for how different are the English and Scottish idioms, and even the dialects of Lancashire and Norfolk? In France the Parisian accent varies essentially from the provincial pronunciation; and the several Patois of Provence, Lorraine, and Gascony, cannot be understood without respective glossaries. The same circumstance prevails in Germany, where the idioms of the Saxons, Austrians, and Suabians, are scarcely intelligible to each other. That this was equally the case with the Latin, we may collect not only from the general analogy of language, but likewise from the testimony of the best authors.

THE origin of the Italian and of the other dialects, which are derived principally from the Latin, is frequently attributed to the invasion of the Goths under Alaric; when a new language was introduced throughout Italy and the Roman provinces. But this is not precisely the truth; for these several dialects arose from a corruption, or at least a variation, in the primitive Latin, antecedent to the irruption of the Goths, or even to the times of the Cæsars. Italy was occupied by many people originally independent: the *Umbri*, *Osci*, *Samnites*, *Etrusci*, and *Piceni*, all of whom differed in dialect, and many in language from the Romans. But the latter had no sooner conquered Italy, than the Latin language

language came into general use, though in the several provinces it was not uniformly pronounced in the same manner; as the natives of every district varied in their mode of articulation. Cicero mentions several * corruptions of the Latin which he could scarcely comprehend; and Horace alludes to the people of Canusium, in *Græcia Magna*, as speaking a mixed language †. Canusium contained, besides the original Greek natives, many inhabitants from different parts of Italy, who spoke Latin. Hence their language was a mixture of both Greek and Latin; but so extremely impure, as to give rise to the proverb, *Canusini more bilinguis*.

IN Italy there must have been many idioms of this sort, which were for a long time unobserved. For while Rome flourished, the language of that capital was the standard of purity; and all other dialects of the Latin were disregarded. Yet, even at Rome itself, the Latin was corrupted at a very early period. Suetonius ‡ relates, that Augustus frequently affected to write words as they were pronounced, without any regard to orthography; and to abridge them, by the change or omission of syllables. If this was the practice of the sovereign himself, in the purity of the Augustan age, and in the

* Amongst other examples he says, that the people instead of *diem hanc* pronounced *di hanc*, and *cauneas* instead of *cave ne eas*.

† *Cum Pedius causas exsudet Poplicola atque
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
Verba foris malis, Canusini more BILINGUIS?*

Lib. I. Sat. x. v. 30.

‡ *Non literas modo sed syllabas permutat aut præterit. Communis hominum error.*

capital,

capital, we may be assured, that the same custom was still more prevalent among the people, in the distant provinces, and particularly towards the decline of the empire. Thus the Latin tongue was growing gradually more corrupt, and would, in process of time, have almost totally varied from its primitive purity, even if Rome had continued to be the seat of empire; yet it may be allowed, that its decline was hastened by the irruption of the Goths.

SHOULD these remarks be founded on fact, the Romans must have left traces of their language throughout the different provinces of their vast empire; and the several dialects derived from the colloquial Latin, before they were refined and polished, must have borne a resemblance to each other, in some places more striking, in others more faint and distant. And although these dialects were in some measure changed and modified by the introduction of the Gothic or German idiom, which the conquerors gradually established throughout the Roman provinces; yet the same affinity must have been still observed: those changes affected *all* the dialects, and consisted not so much in varying the expressions, as in giving a new modification to the general syntax, by the introduction of the auxiliary verbs, by the indeclension of the cases, and by the necessary use of prepositions and articles.

IF therefore the Romans established themselves in the country of the Grisons so effectually as to introduce their own language; and if that tongue, derived from the colloquial Latin, and still further modified by the adoption of the German

German syntax, is, from the peculiar situation of the natives, and from its not having been confined to writing till within these last two hundred years, little changed from its primitive state; we have reason to expect, that it should bear evident marks of affinity to those dialects which have originated from the colloquial Latin, and were equally modified by the German syntax; it follows also, that the resemblance will be greater in proportion as we can trace earlier and ruder specimens: and this analogy is consonant to experience. The earliest language, which undoubtedly draws its origin from the colloquial Latin, is the ancient Romanish, called *Lingua Romana*, the mother of the French tongue. It was understood in Italy, in the Morea, and Constantinople, and was universally diffused throughout the southern parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mr. Planta, in the treatise to which I alluded at the beginning of this letter, has unquestionably proved that this tongue and the Romanish of the Grisons are the same language.

WE cannot expect, perhaps, the same evident affinity between the Romanish of the Grisons and any other language now existing; but in comparing it with the Italian, and particularly some provincial dialects of Italy, the Spanish *, the Patois of Provence, Languedoc, Gascony, and Lorraine, we shall easily perceive, that they originated from the same stock, with the difference which time, a variety of pronunciation, and the mixture of other tongues,

* In comparing it with the Spanish, we must exclude those words which have a strong guttural pronunciation, and are evidently derived from the Arabic.

must necessarily occasion in all languages. With respect to the Italian, it is remarkable that the Romanſh leſs reſembles the pure Tuſcan idiom than the provincial dialects; a circumſtance eaſily accounted for. The Tuſcan has been gradually purified and refined, until it has undergone a total change from its original ſtate; and the provincial dialects, being leſs committed to writing, have not been ſubject to ſuch variation.

To theſe languages I may add that ſpoken by the Vaudois, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, in the ſixteenth century, of which Leger has printed ſpecimens, the originals whereof are now extant in the public library at Cambridge, and alſo the Wallachian tongue. The latter is derived from the Latin, introduced by the colony of Romans, which Trajan eſtabliſhed in thoſe parts. The preſent natives, deſcendants of that colony, although ſurrounded by people ſpeaking the Hungarian and Sclavonian, talk a language in which evident traces of the original Latin are ſtill preſerved. It bears a general reſemblance to the Italian; and Mr. Aporta, who paſſed ſome time in Hungary, informed me, that, allowing for the variety of pronunciation, he comprehended the natives, and found in their expreſſions no inconfiderable degree of affinity to the Romanſh.

THE Romanſh of the Griſons, as I have before obſerved, is divided into two principal dialects, that of the Grey League and the *Ladin* of Engadina; for it is needleſs to mention ſeparately the Romanſh ſpoken in the valleys of Muſter and Surſet.

Surfet. The two dialects perfectly agree in the grammatical arrangement, but differ widely in the pronunciation and orthography: of the two, the *Ladin*, being less intermixed with foreign words, is the purest; the Romanish of the Grey League, from the number of German colonies blended with the natives, abounds more in German expressions.

THE *Ladin* is divided into the two idioms of Upper and Lower Engadina: the vocabulary of both is the same, with a small variety of accent * and pronunciation, which arises chiefly from the different manner of articulating the vowels. The inhabitants of Lower Engadina speak with a broader accent, like the Dorians among the Greeks; while those of Upper Engadina, like the Ionians, use a softer pronunciation. Hence is derived a variety in the orthography of the two idioms: and books, although perfectly understood by both, are printed somewhat differently in the two districts.

BEFORE the introduction of the reformation among the Grisons, the Romanish was esteemed so barbarous a jargon as to be thought incapable of being reduced to grammatical accuracy †. It is no wonder, that the monks, whose interest it

* To give an instance of this difference.

The inhabitants of Lower Engadina pronounce the *a* open as we do in *war*, while those of Upper Engadina use an *æ* instead of the *a*.

Star	Stær
Judicar	Judicær
Armaint	Armænt
Our	Or
Chiauffa	Chioffæ.

† Aporta, lib. 2. p. 403.

was to keep the people in the grossest ignorance, should have favoured this opinion; but it is a matter of astonishment, that the most learned among the native laics, and such intelligent foreigners as * Tschudi and Stumpf, should have supported a notion so contradictory to common sense. For although it is an evident axiom, that all living tongues may be reduced to certain principles, and consigned to writing; yet the barbarism of the Romansh was so universally prevalent, that no attempt was made to write it before the sixteenth century. The person to whom the Grisons owe the first production in their native tongue, was John de Travers; a man who blending the characters of the soldier, politician, scholar, and divine, performed the most essential services to his country; by his valour in arms, by his skill in negotiation, by cultivating and protecting letters, and by favouring and assisting the introduction of the reformed religion.

THIS respectable person, of a noble and opulent family of Zutz in Upper Engadina, was born in 1483: before the eighth year of his age he was sent for his education to Munich, and from thence into Transylvania. Being there seized with a desire of travelling, he remained absent thirteen years: and returned to Zutz about the 28th year of his

* *Rhætica lingua tam perplexa et impedita est, ut scribi nequeat; unde omnes literæ ab antiquis confectæ, Latine scriptæ sunt, et quas hodie parant, Germanice scribi procurant.* See Tschudi Alp. Rhæt. p. 9.—And, as Philip Galicius expresses himself in his preface to Campel's Psalter:—*Parce chia*

'lg noas languack mæ nun ais stætt scritt, ne eir crett brick ch'ell s'poassa scriever infyn avaint brick b'lear anns, chia 'lg saimper dong da ngyr cun hunur nummad huom Ser Joan Travers da Quotz haa ell impiim scritt in Ladin la noassa guerra.

age. Highly distinguished * for integrity, learning, and abilities, he acquired universal esteem; and was raised to every honour which his grateful country was capable of bestowing. Indeed such was the respect generally shewn to his superior talents, that no affair of moment was transacted by the Republic of the Grisons in which he was not consulted. His acquaintance with foreign languages, his knowledge of the world, and the politeness of his address, rendered him the fittest instrument to negotiate with foreign powers; and he always acquitted himself with honour of the trust which was reposed in him. In a military line he greatly signalized himself as commander of the Grison forces against James of Medicis, for the rapidity of his movements, his personal valour, and cautious conduct; and by laying siege to the fortress of Muffon†, he brought the campaign to a speedy and successful issue.

HE was greatly instrumental in forwarding the progress of the reformation. Although inclined to favour the new doctrines, yet he was never hurried away by a misguided zeal. Averse to renounce the religion in which he had been educated, without the strongest conviction of its superstitious

* Ille quidem anno 1483 natus, bis Vallis Tellinæ Gubernator, Episcopalis Aulæ Curator, plurimis ad externos Principes legationibus clarus, in Patria vero omnibus honoris gradibus natus, eruditione, dexteritate, et auctoritate unus in Rætia florebat; ut Reipublicæ lumen, fidus, et decus merito habeatur. Eo virtutes quia multam ipsi conciliaverunt famam, nulla in Republica momenti agebatur causa, cujus vel arbiter non esset vel consilium non advocaretur, &c. Aporta, tom. I. p. 229.

† Situated near the Lake of Como, not far from Gravedona.

tendency, he studied the controversy between the two sects, and weighed the arguments on both sides with the utmost deliberation; but he no sooner became a profelyte to the reformed opinions, than he shewed himself as zealous in promoting, as he had previously been circumspect in adopting them. Nor did he only favour the reformation by his example and authority, but he even promulgated its doctrines. As few natives of Engadina were qualified, by their learning and theological knowledge, to preach in the Ladin, the progress of the reformation was considerably retarded. For these reasons John de Travers, who had critically studied and written in his own tongue, condescended to instruct the people. Having obtained permission of the church, he ascended the pulpit *, and explained in the most perspicuous manner the Christian doctrines. His distinguished abilities, his exalted rank, his venerable age, and his amiable character, drew from all quarters a numerous audience; while his discourses, delivered with a noble simplicity of eloquence, made the deepest impression, and never failed to increase the number of profelytes. This respectable man finished his career, which had been so useful to his country, and so honourable to himself, in 1563, and in the 80th year of his age. His writings in the Ladin, which

* *Stupuit tunc ordo Evangelicus, stupuit tota Rætia contemplans eximium inclitumque Heroa, inter Rætiae gentis optimates, diu principem habitum, summis etiam, patriæ honoribus, debito virtutibus premio insignitum, senio nunc confectum suggestu in publica sacra æde consensu, populum docere, et alia Ecclesia-* *stica munia, quando res poscebat, operam suam cum ordinario Ministro conjungendo, et laborem participando, summo audientium applausu undique ex locis circa vicinis, integris turmis ad ejus sermones audiendos confluentibus, obiit.* Aporta, tom. p. 239.

gave rise to this digression, were, a poem in rhyme, describing the war of Muffon; many sermons; and several sacred dramas in verse.

THE example of committing the Ladin to writing was next followed by Philip Salutz, called Gallicius, one of the earliest reformers among the Grisons; who, in 1534, translated the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed, and the decalogue, into the dialect of Lower Engadina; and not long afterwards, from the Hebrew into the same language, some chapters of Genesis, and the Athanasian Creed; which were distributed in manuscript among the natives. Huldric Campel wrote several sacred dramas, in the representation of which he himself assisted; and also turned some of the psalms into verse.

BUT these compositions, being only to be found in manuscript, were too scarce to be of general use; and James Tutschet, of Samada, more known by the name of Riveronius, was the first who ventured to publish in his native tongue. That celebrated reformer finding, from experience, that the want of religious books in the colloquial language was a great obstruction to the progress of the reformation, printed at Puschlavo, in 1560, a small work *, which contained an alphabet,

* I possess a copy of this scarce work, reprinted at Zurich 1621, but without the title page. At my request the learned M. Aporta favoured me with an accurate catalogue of all the books printed in the Romanish

of Engadina and of the Grey League, accompanied with many critical remarks, which I have made use of in this letter.

I once proposed to have printed this catalogue; which gives the titles of 82 books

phabet, the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed, the Ten Commandments, and several occasional prayers. This little publication being well received, was followed by a work of the greatest importance, a translation of the New Testament*. In 1562 Huldric Campel printed the Psalms† of David, and other hymns done into verse, for the use of the reformed churches: this publication afforded a striking proof of the author's genius and taste, that he was able to give so much harmony of metre and variety of rhymes to the language in so rude a state. Besides the benefits which this psalter produced in a religious light, it was serviceable in a literary view, as it contributed to diffuse a taste for poetical composition among his countrymen; and convinced them that divine truths might be inculcated in a pleasing diction. Mr. Aporta, in his excellent History of the Reformation among the Grisons, says that the language of Biveronius is (like infant dialects) so rude and unpolished, both as to the mode of expression and orthography, that it is scarcely understood at present; that Campel greatly refined it, and endeavoured as much as possible to reduce the words and orthography to a similitude with the Latin, which was the original mother tongue. Hence we may observe, that the publications of Biveronius afford the most curious spe-

books printed in the Ladin, and 26 in the Romanish of the Grey League; but relinquished it on considering that it would have swelled this work too much; and would be uninteresting to the generality of my readers.

I shall, therefore, only insert, at the end of this letter, the titles of the Bibles, and of the books printed in the 16th century; together with a vocabulary of the language.

* N° 1.

† N° 3.

cimen of the Ladin, as it existed in its most ancient state, when it was chiefly a colloquial language *.

THE possibility of writing and printing the Ladin was no sooner proved by such authorities, than the press teemed with productions calculated to disseminate the reformed opinions. These publications, however, (not excepting even the performance of Campel) as well as all which appeared in the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, are now obsolete; and, without a glossary, almost unintelligible to the natives themselves, who have not made them the object of their particular study.

No version of the whole Bible was published in the Ladin before the year 1679: it was printed at Scuol †, in the dialect of Lower Engadina; and republished, with various explanations and a new index, in 1743. Besides the translation of the New Testament by Biveronius, which is obsolete, a new ‡ version was printed in 1640 in the dialect of Upper Engadina, and is in common use. But the natives of this district have no other version of the Old Testament than that of Lower Engadina.

As it would be uninteresting to send you a dry catalogue of the several publications in the Ladin, I shall therefore only remark in general, that except a history § of the Grisons, compiled from various authors by Aporta, the books

* I shall insert as a specimen of his language in the end of this letter, the Apostles' Creed, published in 1571. N° 2.

† N° 5.

‡ N° 6.

§ N° 7.

in

in this tongue solely treat of religious subjects. Some of our theological tracts, particularly written by our divines of the last century, are translated into their language; of these I observed, among the list of books in my possession, Bayley's Practice of Piety, and Baxter on Vows.

THE Romanſh of the Grey League remains to be considered. The earliest publication in this dialect is a catechism*, translated from the German by Daniel Boniface, pastor of Furſtenau, and printed in 1601. It was soon followed by a metrical version of several psalms†, accompanied with other hymns, published at Coire in 1611. The author of this useful psalter was Stephen Gabriel, a native of Vettan, in Lower Engadina, and pastor of Ilants: he was a man of considerable learning; and his zeal for the reformed religion exposed him to the fury of the Catholics, who, in 1620, plundered his house, burnt his library, and hanged him in effigy. Gabriel having escaped to Zurich, drew up, during his retirement, an account of that controversy between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, which in those turbulent times nearly excited a civil war among the Grisons. This polemic treatise, written in the Romanſh, was printed at Zurich in 1625; and was answered in 1630 by a Roman Catholic priest, in the same tongue: a work which is probably the first production printed by the Catholics in the Romanſh. Upon the cessation of the civil commotions Gabriel returned to Ilants, where he passed the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

* N° 8.

† N° 9.

STEPHEN was succeeded in his preferment and literary pursuits by his son Lucius Gabriel, who, in 1648, gave a version of the New Testament *; a work much wanted, as the inhabitants of the Grey League were mostly ignorant of any but their own language, and could with difficulty comprehend the translation in the dialect of Engadina. It is remarkable, that this version, which was printed only forty-eight years after the Romansh of the Grey League became a written language, should still continue in use; a proof either, that the language has not received that degree of refinement which the Ladin has experienced; or that the first persons who wrote in this idiom took great pains to settle the orthography, and arrange the grammatical construction. The list of books published in this dialect are, for the most part, far inferior, both as to number and merit, to those written in the Ladin; for, excepting the two Gabriels, the Grey League has furnished few men who have distinguished themselves by superior learning.

A COMPLETE translation of the † Bible was not given before the year 1718: it was published at Coire, at the expence of the Clergy of the Grey League, and dedicated by the printer to George the First, who sent in return a present of fifty guineas. This sum being delivered to the printer, and claimed by him as his own property, occasioned a law-suit between him and the editors: the latter, however, although in equity they had the sole right, were never able to obtain any part of the donation.

* N° 10.

† N° 11.

P O S T S C R I P T.

VOCABULARY of the ROMANSH of UPPER ENGADINA.

God	<i>Dieu</i>	Wine	<i>Vin</i>	Verbes	<i>Vers</i>
Heavens	<i>Cêl</i> , pronounced <i>Chel</i>	Water	<i>Ova</i>	To love	<i>Amær</i>
Cloud	<i>Nuvla</i>	Fire	<i>Fœ</i> , pr. like <i>Feü</i>	To listen	<i>Tadler</i>
Rain	<i>Plovgia</i>	Air	<i>Aier</i>	To believe	<i>Crair</i>
Hail	<i>Tempesta</i>	Earth	<i>Tearra</i>	To go	<i>Or</i>
Mouth	<i>Boucchia</i>	Wood	<i>Gôd</i>	To come	<i>Gnir</i>
Nose	<i>Næs</i>	Tree	<i>Bœsch</i>	To feign	<i>Finger</i>
Ere	<i>Oelg</i> , pr. like the French <i>Oeil</i>	Horse	<i>Chiuvalg</i>	To beat	<i>Batter</i>
Head	<i>Testa</i>	Dog	<i>Chiaun</i>	To slay	<i>Amazzare</i>
Ear	<i>Araglia</i>	Lion	<i>Liun</i>	Great	<i>Grand</i>
Hand	<i>Maun</i>	Tiger	<i>Tigra</i>	Little	<i>Pitschen</i>
Foot	<i>Pè</i>	Man	<i>Hom</i>	Fat	<i>Grass</i>
Body	<i>Chuerp</i> , or, <i>Courp</i>	Woman	<i>Duona</i>	Thin	<i>Megier</i>
Hair	<i>Chiapè</i>	Husband	<i>Marid</i>	Black	<i>Nair</i>
Bread	<i>Pain</i>	Wife	<i>Muglier</i>	White	<i>Alb</i>
		Girl	<i>Matta</i>	Red	<i>Coatschen</i>
		Son	<i>Filg</i>	Blue	<i>Blow</i>
		Daughter	<i>Figlia</i>	Green	<i>Vert</i>
		Soldier	<i>Súdo</i>	Yellow	<i>Mellen</i>
		Poet	<i>Poarta</i>	Brown	<i>Brun</i>
				Grey	<i>Griſch</i>

1 *Un*
2 *Duos*
3 *Trais*
4 *Quater*
5 *Tſchinch*
6 *Ses*

7 *Sett*
8 *Oach*, in Lower Engadina
Ott
9 *Nov*
10 *Defch*
11 *Undefch*

12 *Dudeſch*, &c.
20 *Vainch*
30 *Trenta*
100 *Tſchient*
1000 *Mille*

TITLES of the earliest BOOKS, and of the BIBLES
printed in the ROMANSH.

N° 1. The translation of the New Testament by Biveronius. *L'g Nuof Saint Testamaint da nos Signer Jesu Christi Prais our delg Latin et our d' oters launguax et huossa da noef mifs in Arumaunsch träs Fachiam Bifrun d' Agnedina. Psalm 119. Tieu uierf es una glimyra a mes pes et una liusth à mieu pass. Squischo ilg an. 1560.*

N° 2. Another scarce work, printed by the same author in 1571, and which is in my possession, containing a catechism and paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, in question and answer, bears the following title. *Una cuorta et fuorma da intraguidar la giuventüna et par 'lg prüm co es cugniosche Deus et se d'sues. Albura üna declaratiun de la Chredinsha, dals dischs cumandamains, dalg Pædernus, dals sainchs sacramains, tuot träs 'ls Predichiauns da Chuoira in moed da dumanda aschantô, et missa in Aromausch, 1571.* From this book I shall insert the Apostles Creed, as a specimen of the early Romansh.

“Eau craich in Dieu Pædar Omniputaint, creatur dalg tshil et de la terra. Et in Jesum Christum ses sullet filg, nos Signur. L'g quæl es concepieu dalg Sainch Spiert, naschieu da la Vergina Maria. Indurô suot Potio Pilato, crucifichiô muort, et sappulieu. Jeu ad ifiern, et aint ilg ters di da muort arefustô. Et es jeu à tshil, et setza dalg dret maun da ses bab celestiel. Innuonder che el vain à gnir à judichier vifs et muorts. Eau craich aint ilg saine spiert. Eau craich che saia la sainchia fidela christiauna baselgia. Comuniun dals senchs. Remischiun dals pchios. Refustatiun da la chiarn. Et sieva aquaista vita, la vita eterna. Amen.”

N° 3. Title of Campel's translation of the Psalms, second edition. *Un Cudesch Da Psalms Tratts our da'gl Tudaischk, e luguads da chiantar in Ladin. Proa quai alchiunas Spiritualas Chiantzuns: chi s'ettuengen cun la vardad è scrittura sainckgia, ed our da quella tuutas, &c. Tras Durich Chiampel, Sarviaint de l'g' Evangeli da Jesu Christi a Susch in Ingiadina dsuott. Schquischada a Basel 1606.*

N° 4. A Catechism by the Rev. John Planta, of Samada. *Un Cuort Nuzaivel e Bfog-nius Catechismus, chi cuntain la sustaunza da Pintyra Cretta, e vaira fæ Christiauna, &c. Scrit in Arumaunsch träs Juannem Plantam da Samedan, ministar de la Baselgia da Jesu Christi. Squischo in Puschlæf träs Cornelium et Anthonium Landuolpfs. 1581.*

N° 5. The Bible in the dialect of Lower Engadina. *La sacra Biblia, quai ais Tuot la Sonchia Scrittura in la quala sun comprais tuots Cudaschs dal Velg e Nouf Testamaint cun l'aggiunta dall Apocrypha eschantada, vertida e stampada in lingua Rumaunscha d'Ingadina Bassa tras cumun cuost e lavear da Jacobo Antonio Vulpio, Serviaint dal Pled da Deis in Ftaun, et Jacobo Dorta a Vulpera, Serviaint dal Pled da Deis in Scuol. Stampod in Scuol in Ingadina Bassa tras Jacob Dorza a Vulpara. 1679. Fol. pag. 1524.*

N° 6. A version of the New Testament by John Gritti, and printed at Basle. *'L Nuof S. Testamaint da Noufs Segnier Jesu Christi huossa da nöf vertieu in Romaunsch,*

our da l'originel Greec, træs Joann. da Zuoz, &c. Squitcho in Basel træs George Decker, &c. 1640. 8vo. p. 870.

Nº 7. Aporta's Rhætian Chronicle, printed at Scuol. *Chronica Rhætica order l'Historia da l'origine, guerras, alleanzas, et Auters evenimaints da nossa chiara patria la Rhetia, our da divers Authurs compomuda da Nott da Porta, V. D. M. et par bain public acuoft seis fatta stampar da Nuot N. Schucan tras Jacobo N. Gadina et Jac. Rauchio. In Scuol. an. 1742. 8vo. p. 209.*

Nº 8. The first book in the Romansh of the Grey League is a Catechism by Daniel Boniface, under the following title: printed at Lindau. *Catechismus, cust mussameint dels Principals Punctys della Christianeita Religiun par las Baselgias et Skolas da Communas Treas Ligias, tras quell ault amuffaa S. Johann Pontisella da Cuira fatg per Tudeschk, ussa da nief tras Daniel Boniface mefs ora in Romaunsch, &c. Squitchau a Lindau vid igl Bodensce tras Johann Ludwig Brem. 1601.* The following expressions in his preface, "et eint in noss linguagh mæ na nean ne scritts ne squitcheus;" nothing having as yet appeared in our language, either written or printed; sufficiently proves that this Catechism was the first publication in the Romansh of the Grey League; although the following Pfalter by Stephen Gabriel, is usually styled the first book.

Nº 9. Pfalter by Dan. Boniface, printed at Coire 1611; reprinted 1649, 1683, 1740, 1768. The following is the title-page of the last edition. *Ilg Ver Sulaz da Pievel Juven: quei anis una curta Summa da la Cardienstha dils Patriarchs, Prophets, ad Apostels: Item, Anzaquonts Psalms da David, a Canzuns Spiritualas: Item, Anzaquontas Uratiuns: Tras Steffan Gabriel, &c. Squitchau a Cuera. 1768.*

Nº 10. Version of the New Testament by Lucius Gabriel, printed at Basle. *Ilg Nief Testament da Niefs Senger Jesu Christ mefs qui en Rumonsch da la Liga Grischa tras Luci Gabriel, &c. Squitchau a Basel 1648. 8vo.*

Nº 11. Translation of the Bible in the Romansh of the Grey League, printed at Coire, with the following title: *La S. Biblia, quei ei, Tut la Soinchia Scartira, ne Tuts ils ludisch dilg Veder a Nief Testament cun ils Apocryphs, mefs'a giuent ilg languaig Rumonsch da la Liga Grischa, tras anchins Survients dilg plaid da Deus dils Venerands Colloquio Sur a tutt ill Guault. Cum Privil. Illustr. D. D. Rhætor. a Squitchad en Coira tras Andrea Pfeffer Stampadur. 1718. Fol. p. 1148.*

L E T T E R 91.

FROM DAVID PENNANT, Esq. TO THE AUTHOR.

ON THE ITALIAN BAILLIAGES OF SWITZERLAND—
JOURNEY FROM THE TOP OF THE ST. GOTHARD
TO MILAN—THE LEVANTINE VALLEY—BELLIN-
ZONE—LOCARNO—TOWN AND LAKE OF LUGANO—
LAGO MAGGIORE—BOROMEAN ISLANDS.

SIR,

LITTLE is wanting to complete your description of Switzerland and its dependencies; that chasm I now endeavour to fill up. Youth and inexperience must serve as excuses for errors and omissions. Happy if this hasty sketch may excite the curiosity of yourself, or any other traveller equally intelligent, whose observations may amuse and instruct mankind. The route which I here attempt to describe, is connected with your work; a route which would afford satisfaction to the curious of all nations who take you as their guide.

THE highest parts of the principal Alpine passes are usually occupied by a small plain or basin; as the St. Bernard, the Gemmi, the Splügen, and the St. Gothard. From the summit of the St. Gothard I commenced my route on the 2d of August 1786. I followed the course of the Tesino, which you mention in your letters: it passes by the Capuchin convent, and is soon after joined by two other rills from the
neighbouring

neighbouring mountains. Near this spot the Levantine valley begins, and Switzerland, properly so called, may be said to terminate. The descent on the side of Italy is much steeper, and the views more savage and picturesque, than in the ascent from Urseren; and the road is conducted with equal skill. The majestic scenery is heightened by the Tesino tumbling in an almost uninterrupted cataract; sometimes pent up in a narrow channel, or piercing its way through the remains of Avalanches, still unmelted though fully exposed to the rays of a meridian sun. These enormous masses obstruct the road; and workmen are continually employed in promoting their dissolution; as the aggregate of unmelted snows, for a few summers, would bar all communication between Switzerland and Italy: with such difficulty are the few passes kept open!

AFTER descending rapidly for three miles through this scene of desolation, bounded on all sides by precipices, or impending rocks, the river foaming over blocks of granite, the ruins of the surrounding mountains; we crossed the *Ponte Tremolo*, or trembling bridge; where the view enlarged, and extended over a verdant valley sprinkled with numerous houses. Airolo, the first small burgh, stands at the bottom of the steep descent; to the right is the passage over mount Grias to Munster in the Upper Vallais, practicable only from the middle of July to October, when 300 horses transport weekly the cheese from the various parts of Switzerland.

AT Dacio we found comfortable accommodations: that village consists only of a few houses, seated at the entrance
of

of a pass, capable of being defended with ease against the whole force of Italy. A wall and gate is added to its natural strength, but their principal use is to prevent contraband trade, and to exact also a small toll for the merchandise which passes that way. For half a league from hence is a succession of striking and romantic scenery; the perpendicular rocks scarcely affording room for the steep road, and transparent waters of the Tesino, which, thundering over the vast fragments, rises in a white foam, and subtle mist, visible only from refracting the rays of the sun. We crossed the torrent, in that short space, over three bridges thrown from rock to rock, whose span and boldness of execution might vie with the boasted, because better known, Devil's Bridge. Faïdo is the residence of the bailif, nominated by the canton of Uri. He remains in office four years, and his power is almost unlimited. Unfortunate insurrections in 1712, and in 1755, have been attended with the loss of the few remaining privileges to a people who struggled for perfect liberty. Giornico, called by the Germans Irnis, is famous for the victory which 600 Swiss gained, in 1478, over the troops of the duke of Milan, amounting to 15,000 men; a victory which ensured to the Swiss an honourable and advantageous peace. In this neighbourhood we first perceived the effects of a southern sun, and a lesser elevation above the sea, by the frequent appearance of vineyards, and the walnut and chestnut-trees of a very large size; the girth of several among the latter was not less than thirty feet. At Polegio, this bailiage ends.

THE Levantine Valley, or *Valle Levantina*, is supposed to retain, by its name, traces of the *Lepontii*, the antient inhabitants

bitants of the surrounding regions. Its length, counting from the summit of the passage on the St. Gothard, is about eight leagues: the breadth very inconsiderable. The lower part is extremely populous, rich in pasturage, and produces much hemp and flax. In the neighbourhood of such lofty mountains, its climate must be variable, and liable to frequent rains. In order to prevent these rains from damaging their crops, the inhabitants suspend and dry the corn and grass on several bars supported by two high poles about fifteen feet asunder. The houses are entirely of wood, and have externally the appearance of Swiss cottages; but a neglect of cleanliness proves the vicinity and greater similarity to the Italians. The Tesino is here joined by the Bromio, a torrent which takes its rise in mount Uccello, or the Vogelsberg, near Splügen; a bridge over it is the boundary of the two bailliages of the valleys Levantine and Polesa, and leads into that of Riviera. The valley now becomes perfectly flat, and of course subject to violent inundations; the few villages are scattered on the sides of the steep mountains; below all is desolate. Ossogna, the residence of the bailiff, consists only of a few houses. The country soon improved; the ground rose gently from the bed of the river, when we came in sight of the beautiful town of Bellinzona, situated in a delightful plain, encircled with ancient walls and battlements in good repair: to the right, rise majestically the ruins of an ancient castle; to the left, separately embosomed in trees, are the castles of the bailiffs of the three regent cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden.

ABOUT the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Swiss, at peace with the House of Austria, seem first to have been stimulated

mulated with the ambition of extending their dominions towards the south. In 1410, the whole Helvetic body, excepting the canton of Berne, passed their natural barriers, plundered the town of Domo d'Oscella, and the adjacent country, and returned laden with spoil to pass the winter in their humble cottages. Elevated by success, the ensuing summer saw them again descend into the plains of Italy, and ravage the duchy of Milan, then subject to the Visconti. They again retired, but without attempting to make a settlement. Bent on these enterprises, we are not surprised, that, in 1422, the three original cantons purchased the town of Bellinzone from its owners the counts of Sax; or that Philip Maria, duke of Milan, exerted himself to prevent from falling into their hands a town so important, from its situation and natural strength, to check their inroads, and cover his dominions. Having therefore taken possession of it by force of arms; a body of 8000 Swiss passed the Alps. The forces of both nations met; the Italians were led on by Carmagnola; a bloody battle ensued, of which both sides claimed the victory; the Swiss retired with a standard taken from the enemy, who remained masters of the town.

EXCEPTING some inroads, nothing of importance was again transacted to the south till the year 1466, when Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the new duke of Milan, formed an alliance with his transalpine neighbours; the first article was the cession of the Levantine Valley to the canton of Uri, for which he was annually to receive three hawks and a crossbow. Yet ten years after, when Charles duke of Burgundy threatened the total destruction of the republic by his powerful

ful invasions, the treacherous duke of Milan sent a body of troops to his assistance, who were intercepted in the Vallais and worsted. On the defeat and death of Charles at the battle of Nancy, they again resolved to make an attempt on Bellinzone: but as the season was too far advanced to undertake the siege, a body of 600 Swiss resolved to winter at Giornico. The duke collected an army of 15,000 men, and attacked them in their entrenchments, but was repulsed with the loss of 1400 of his best troops. The mountaineers were enriched with the spoils; but no regular attack was made on the object of their invasion.

FROM this period the wars in which the Swiss engaged no ways concerned themselves: they sacrificed their blood in foreign quarrels, and the contending parties made use of their superior valour to attempt or establish conquests in Italy. In 1500 the three cantons obtained what they had so long contended for. The inhabitants of Bellinzone, vexed by the frequent changes in the Milanese, voluntarily surrendered to them. The French, when they had conquered the duchy, in vain reclaimed it; the Swiss retained possession; and the seven Italian bailliages were formally ceded to them by Maximilian Sforza, in gratitude for their having reinstated him in the ducal seat. Courted or feared by all parties, those valuable territories were confirmed to them by the French, and finally by the House of Austria.

THE bailif remains in office two years; he is nominated reciprocally by the three cantons, and is generally removed from Riviera the poorest, to Bellinzone the most lucrative of
the

the three governments. An appeal lies from his decision to the syndicate, and from that court to the three cantons. In ecclesiastical affairs, the inhabitants are cognizable to the bishop of Como, excepting three parishes. Most of the natives understand Italian, but the language is a corrupt German.

THE interior of Bellinzone by no means corresponds with its external beauty and situation; the streets are narrow, and the houses ill built. We continued our journey south on the banks of the Tesino, which we crossed in a bad ferry; that river is here increased to a very considerable size, by the numerous additions it has received in its course, particularly by the Mufa, a torrent which takes its rise in the St. Bernardin, and flowing down the Val Masox, forms a junction above Bellinzone. The valley is level, and laid waste by numerous torrents: the road runs along the sides of the hills through continued vineyards. We proceeded at the foot of the western chain of hills; a similar ridge bounds the view to the East, both clothed to their summits with woods of chestnut and walnut trees, half concealing frequent spires and numerous hamlets. Before us the view extended to a part of the Milanese over the lake of Locarno, or Lago Maggiore. Having reached its north-western extremity, we coasted its banks for two or three miles; and arrived at the town from which it derives its name. Locarno contains about 1500 inhabitants. Part of the town is built on piazzas in form of a crescent with two wings; in front is a row of trees, and a public walk; the old part of the town is dirty, and the streets narrow. It contains three convents, and a small Fran-

ciscan monastery, perched on a rock overhanging the valley, and commanding a superb view of the lake, and its magnificent boundaries. The canopy, in the church of the Capuchins, deserves to be mentioned for its beautiful execution: it is of straw-work, and almost rivals velvet and gold fringe.

OF the four transalpine bailliages which belong to the twelve cantons, Lugano holds the principal rank; Locarno the second. The governor or commissary, as he is called, is sent in succession by all the cantons except Appenzel; he remains in office two years; in criminal affairs his decision is absolute, in civil an appeal lies to the annual syndicate from the regent cantons, and from thence to the Helvetic body assembled at the diet. The emoluments of this post are not great; but the profits unfortunately depend too much on the virtue of the man, as they arise principally from fines exacted for criminal offences. The people enjoy some privileges, and hold an annual assembly in the month of January, in which they elect twenty counsellors; twelve out of the town, three from Ascona, the remainder from the country at large. These counsellors have the charge of watching over the interests of the republic, as far as does not interfere with the superior powers, of settling the public expences, and of raising the supplies paid to the governor. These bailliages do not raise corn sufficient for their domestic consumption; that grain is furnished by treaty from the duchy of Milan, and is weekly imported from Livino, a village on the opposite shore. The chief food of the peasants is a cake made with maize and millet: the inhabitants on the banks
of

of the lake are well supplied with fish. The fisheries give employment to a great number of hands, although they are in some degree subject to monopolies. In the months of May and June, from 200 to 250 lb. weight are taken in a day; trout of 40 lb. and perch of 9 lb. are found in the lake.

IN 1555, the doctrines of the reformation had made considerable progress in these parts: but the Catholic cantons, at the general diet, obtained an edict, that those who refused to return to the antient faith should quit the town and province. Numbers, thus driven from their native country, were received with open arms by the canton of Zurich, which was benefited by their industry, and owes to them the introduction of their silk manufactures.

LOCARNO once was situated on the lake, and had a port capable of receiving large barks: at present it stands at the distance of a quarter of a mile; a circumstance owing to the accumulation of sand brought down by the torrent Maggia. The little voyage from hence to Magadino is delightful: we crossed the upper part of the lake in an hour; the banks of this noble piece of water rise boldly, and are well wooded; Locarno forms a fine object, to the south of it is the opening into the Val Maggia, terminated by mountains covered with eternal snow. The spot where we landed consists only of a few scattered houses, for the purpose of receiving the merchandize, which is put on shore and sent on horses to Bellinzone. Old Magadino is more inland, and owed its origin to the vicinity of the lake,
the

the retiring of which has caused its ruin: from thence the road winds up the steep sides of the mountain Cenero, through woods of walnut and chefnut-trees, interspersed with oak and holly; on the summit of the passage is a small oval plain, the boundary of the bailliages of Locarno and Lugano. Our descent lay between the hills, through luxuriant and verdant vallies, peopled with numerous villages, and rich in every production. The vines, laden with fruit, are conducted in elegant festoons from tree to tree; a constant variety of scenery, softened by the glow of a setting sun, and next silvered by the moon glimmering on the distant lake, heightened the charms of our journey through this Elysian country.

THE situation of Lugano is delightful: it is built round the gentle curve of a bay, and backed by a fine succession of hills, rising in gentle swells to a considerable height; in front, a bold mountain clothed with forest projects into the lake, of which a noble branch extends to its right and left. To that spot boats of every size are continually passing and repassing, its base being perforated with *cantine*, or caverns, to which the inhabitants send their meat, and all sorts of provision, where it is kept untainted for seven or eight days, and the wine preserved with a delicious coolness. Enjoying the advantages of a southern climate, it has few of its inconveniences: the heats are moderated by the surrounding hills and the cool breezes from the lake. It is no less sheltered from the Alpine blasts, which, chilled by the neighbouring snows, would otherwise descend with violence,



J. Smith del.

J. Wilson fecit.

Landscape

Engraved on the 4th. March 1811. by J. Smith. Strand London.

lence, and destroy the temperature of this equal climate. Olive, almond, and all the southern fruits, ripen here to perfection.

LUGANO is the emporium of the greatest part of the merchandize which passes from Italy over the St. Gothard, or the Bernardin. At the end of autumn, the Swiss mountaineers bring down numerous herds of cattle for sale; and return with less bulky commodities. The town contains about 8000 inhabitants. Most of the houses are built of tuff-stone: the residence of the *capitano*, or governor, is a low building; on the walls are the arms of the twelve regent cantons. On an eminence above the town, stands the principal church, remarkable only for the beautiful carving in stone round the doors, and rose window, and for the delicious prospect from its terrace. In the cloisters of the Recollets is a capital picture attributed to Luvino: their church is handsome, and the skreen is ornamented with the painting of the Passion by the same master. The palace of the Marquis de Riva contains a few good pictures.

WE then embarked upon the lake of Lugano*, which is about twenty-five miles in length, and from two to four in breadth; its form is irregular and bending into continued sinuosities. The town forms a fine object, backed by the

* The lake of Lugano is about 190 feet perpendicular higher than the lake of Como and Lago Maggiore. The two last-mentioned lakes are of the same level, and about 240 feet higher than the city of Milan. *Veri storia di Milan*, p. 5. *Abb. Frisi Dei Canali Navig. di Lombardia*, 4to. p. 465.

amphitheatre

amphitheatre of hills; the banks on each side bordered with a succession of gardens and villas. After being rowed to see the noble branch pointing northward, we crossed to the Cantine, and continued our voyage under the precipitous rocks, whose bases are lost in the depths of the lake. We landed at Porto, a small village in the duchy of Milan, situated at its southern extremity. From this point, an arm of the lake points northward, and discharges itself into the Lago Maggiore, by means of the river Trifa. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more perfect or greater variety of beauties than this noble piece of water affords; the vast over-hanging woods, the bold precipices, the transparency of the water, unite to form a scenery in the highest degree luxuriant. From Porto the traveller may observe, with satisfaction mingled with compassion, the strong contrasts effected by the influence of a free and of an arbitrary government: the borders of the lake subject to Switzerland studded with a succession of villages, houses, and gardens; this part of the Milanese desolate, and almost unpeopled,

ON leaving Porto, the hills begin to diminish, and in the course of three miles are totally lost in the rich plain of Lombardy. Varese is entirely composed of the seats of the Milanese nobility. The principal palazzo is the residence of the dutchess dowager of Modena; the gardens are laid out in the old taste, the artificial mount commands a fine view over a rich flat country, a small lake, and bounded by the long chain of Alps. In the magnificent saloon are some tolerable portraits of the families of Modena and Austria.

Austria. The emperor, as duke of Milan, has exerted himself in the suppression of convents; a rich Franciscan monastery has fallen a sacrifice to his plans of reformation.

THE road from hence to Laveno, a small burgh on the Lago Maggiore, is varied, and the country very rich; to the right, on an eminence, is San Sacramento; to the left we passed near some lesser lakes. From Laveno we were rowed across the delightful passage to Isola Bella, one of the famous enchanted islands so particularly described, and with such pleasure, by Bishop Burnet and Keyser; the latter can compare it to nothing but "*a pyramid of sweetmeats, ornamented with green festoons and flowers.*" But as the taste of mankind alters with the succession of years, I therefore considered it only as a monument of expence and folly: terrace rises above terrace in regular gradations, bordered with flower-pots, or gigantic statues of horses, gods, and goddesses. The whole is raised upon arches; and the soil has been brought from the shore to cover them. The palace is magnificent, and contains a profusion of marbles and paintings: the lower part of the house overhangs the lake on one side; where several apartments are furnished in the stile of grottos; the floors, pillars, and walls, are inlaid with various-coloured stones, marbles, and shells; the view and the coolness united make this part a delicious summer retreat.

IF any thing justly gives this island the appellation of enchanted, it is the prospect from the terrace. The gradual diminution of the mountains from the regions of eternal

now to the rich plain, the sinuosity of the lake, its varied banks, the bay of Marzozzo bounded by vast hills, the neighbouring burgh of Palanza, and more distant view of Laveno, the numerous villages, the Isola Madre, on which is a palace of the Borromean family, and another island sprinkled with fishermen's huts, form a delightful assemblage. These islands, and the whole western coast of the lake to the bailliage of Locarno, was ceded to the king of Sardinia, by the late empress queen, at the treaty of Worms, in consideration of the assistance which she had received from that monarch.

WE re-entered our boat, troubled by the importunities of the beggars, whose miserable huts adjoining to the palace disgrace the island. Belgeritta is a neat village, containing some excellent houses, and a handsome church. From thence we continued our voyage down the lake. The tract of country to our right, from near Palanza to ten miles south of Arona, pays a small contribution to the Borromean family for seignorial rights. That family receives a toll for the merchandize which passes, grants the privilege of fishing, and appoints eleven judges in the respective villages; but an appeal lies from their decision to a superior, nominated by the king of Sardinia, and resident at Palanza, and again to Turin. The riches of this opulent house are now increasing from the product of the gold mines, which lie amongst the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, thirty miles from Mergozzo. Above Arona is a seminary for forty boys, founded by San Carlo Borromeo; near it is the colossal statue of that saint, sixty feet in height, placed
on.

on a pedestal of just proportions. He is represented in his cardinal's habit; the right hand extended, a book under the left arm. The statue is of bronze, was cast at Milan, and brought in separate pieces. San Carlo, nephew to Pope Pius the Fourth, was born near this spot; he passed with early credit through his studies, and the dignities of the church; was made a cardinal, and archbishop of Milan. His charity and pious exertions, during the plague which ravaged his diocese, the subject of so many fine pictures at Milan, insure him more general renown than his canonization in 1610.

ARONA is a small town, with a neat port; above it rises a ruined castle, which, in the earlier part of the Milanese history, seems to have been considered as a place of the utmost importance; at the period when the great contests arose between the families of Visconti and Torriani, this castle was the perpetual object of capture and reprisal. Otho Visconti, the archbishop, who at length gained the ascendancy, was twice repulsed and driven from hence. Two promontories project into the lake at this spot; the eastern is crowned with the castle of Anghiera, which gives name to this valuable province, which in 1397, to gratify Galeazzo, the second duke of Milan, was erected into a county by the emperor Wenceslaus, and has since been transferred to the king of Sardinia. On doubling the promontory of Arona, the lake again enlarges, and forms a bay; the banks are very low. Soon after entering the Tesino we landed at the dirty village of Sesto; hired another boat, and were hurried with great rapidity down that river, between high banks of gravel, to

the commencement of the *Naviglio Grande*, the great canal which forms the junction between the Po and the Adda, calculated not less for conveying merchandize and wood to Milan, than for benefiting the neighbouring country with partial inundations, and for the purpose of laying the rice fields under water. Its breadth at first is great; but narrows as we advance, and the stream becomes almost a dead water*.

If bad weather and other circumstances had not prevented me from extending my tour, I had purposed visiting the bay of Margozzo, Domo, d'Oscella, Varallo, and the gold mines in its neighbourhood; an excursion, which, from the reports I have heard, could not fail of affording the highest satisfaction to the naturalist, and the lover of nature in her great features.

* According to the Abbé Frisi, the length of the Naviglio is 86,000 braccia, or 14 Italian miles (60 to a degree); its breadth at the entrance 70, which gradually diminishes to 20; and the perpendicular height of the fall of water is 58; at first 5 braccia per mile, gradually decreasing for the first twelve miles, until it is no more than one braccin is a mile; then increasing for the five next miles to a little more than five braccia in a mile.—See *Canal. Navig. di Lomb. C. 1.* A Milanese braccio is to an English foot nearly as 22 to 11, without considering a small fraction.

FAUNULA HELVETICA;

O R,

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

Quadrupeds, Birds, Amphibia, Fishes, and Testaceous Animals

OF

SWITZERLAND;

Arranged and denominated according to the System of LINNÆUS:

With References to PENNANT's British Zoology, BRISSON's Works,
and other Authors.

IN no part of Europe does nature invite the naturalist with attractions stronger than in Switzerland; a country so remarkably distinguished, by sublime alps, stupendous glaciers, beautiful mountains, vallies, and lakes, and affording a most comprehensive scope for variety, in the vegetable world, in the mineral kingdom, and in animal life; nor have the ingenious and learned of this nation neglected to avail themselves of their peculiar situation. Let the genius of the Gesners, the names of Haller, of Saussure, and many others, bear testimony to this truth. Nevertheless, of these various branches of knowledge, Zoology seems to have made less progress among this ingenious people, than any other natural science, if compared with its advancement in several other parts of Europe; since there is yet no complete *Fauna*, or description of the animals of this country. It is true, the writings of the indefatigable Conrad Gesner, contain a great number of valuable observations on the animals of Switzerland; but so diffused throughout his works, that they are of little use to such as wish for a connected view of its animal productions. Neither can the scanty and vague accounts of Wagner, gratify the accuracy of the modern zoologist. The industry, however, and ingenuity of several naturalists, have been of late employed in accurate investigations of the respective parts of Switzerland regarding the animal kingdom; and their kindness has enabled me to lay before the English naturalist the following *Faunula Helvetica*.

THE reader is, however, originally indebted to Thomas Pennant, Esq; for this catalogue. That ingenious naturalist, having communicated to me a list of the Swiss birds drawn from Mr. Sprungli's

Sprungli's * much-admired cabinet, advised me to obtain from the collector himself an account of such additional birds as he had procured since 1776, the year in which Mr. Pennant visited Switzerland. I accordingly applied to Mr. Sprungli, who obligingly gave me an accurate catalogue of the Swiss birds and fishes, drawn up in the Linnæan method, illustrated with observations and remarks. On returning from my travels, Mr. Pennant, at my request, favoured me with the English names of the said birds, and with references to the British Zoology, Linnæus, and Brisson, which are preserved in the following catalogue. On a subsequent expedition to Switzerland in 1786, I endeavoured to obtain a catalogue of the quadrupeds and amphibia, for the purpose of forming a *Faunula Helvetica*, a great desideratum in the natural history of Switzerland.

FROM the Rev. Mr. Wytténbach †, the same gentleman to whom I was already indebted for a description of the Alps and hills seen from Berne, I received a list of the quadrupeds and amphibia; and from M. Van Berchem ‡, of Laufanne, whom I have mentioned in my account of the bouquetin, a catalogue of the fishes found in the lake of Neuchatel, and of the amphibia, which agreed with those communicated to me by Mr. Wytténbach.

To the obliging communication of Mr. Studer, minister of the great hospital at Berne, I owe the remaining part of this *Faunula*. As no marine species of shells could enter into this list, it will be an ample proof of the diligence and ingenuity of the collector, that his cabinet actually contains all the land and fresh-water shells here enumerated; among which are many totally unnoticed by former writers. Mr. Studer, having collected all these species

* Letter 58.

† See Letter 59.

‡ Letter 41.

in the recent state, with a view to describe the animal, as well as its covering, was hence led to arrange them, not by the system of Linnæus, which is adapted rather to the shell than to its inhabitant, but by that of the late learned and indefatigable Mr. Muller, published under the following title, "*Vermium terrestrium, et fluviatilium seu Animalium infusoriorum, Helminthicorum, et Testaceorum, non marinorum, succincta Historia. Auctore Oth. Frid. MULLER. Hauniæ & Lipf. 1773. 4°.*" The French names he has taken from M. Geoffroy's work "on the Testaceous Animals of the Environs of Paris;" the German, from the Berlin Magazine conducted by Dr. Martini, and from the works of Mr. Schroeter. To the new species he has himself given trivial names; and proposes shortly to publish an ample description of his cabinet.

THE *Faunula*, in the order in which it now stands, was arranged and digested by Dr. Pulteney, who collected the English names, and references to Linnæus, Pennant, and Briffon, in the catalogues of the quadrupeds and amphibia. He also subjoined to the list of birds several references and illustrations, in addition to those communicated by Mr. Pennant; and Mr. Sprungli, having reviewed the birds and fish since these additions were made, has expressed his entire approbation of them. I cannot conclude without gratefully expressing my obligation to those gentlemen, who have thus enabled me to give the first connected, though brief, account of the Swiss Zoology.

CLASS I.

M A M M A L I A.

ORDO I. PRIMATES.

VESPERTILIO. *Lin. Syst. Natur.* Edit. xii. p. 47.

- V. Auritus. *Lin.* 48.
 Oreillard. V. Minor. *Briss. Quad.* Ed. ii. p. 160.
 LONG-EARED BAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 40. t. 13.
- V. Murinus. *Lin.* 48.
 La Chauve Souris commune. V. Major. *Briss.* 158.
 COMMON BAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 41.
- V. Serotinus.
 La Serotine. *Buffon.* 8. p. 129. t. 18.
 The SEROTINE BAT. *Pen. Hist. Quad.* N° 408.
- V. Noctula.
 La Noctule. *Buffon.* 8. p. 128. t. 18.
 The NOCTULE BAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 38. t. 13.
- V. Pipistrellus?
 La Pipistrelle. *Buffon.* 8. p. 129. t. 19. 2.
 The PIPISTRELL BAT. *Hist. Quad.* N° 409.
- V. Barbastellus.
 La Barbastelle. *Buffon.* 8. p. 130. t. 19. 1.
 The BARBESTELL BAT. *Hist. Quad.* N° 400.
- V. Ferrum equinum?
 La Chauve Souris fer à Cheval. *Buffon.* 8. p. 131.
 HORSE-SHOE BAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 39.

ORDO III. FERÆ.

CANIS. *Lin.* p. 56.

- C. Familiaris. *Lin.* 56.
 Le Chien. C. domesticus. p. 160.
 FAITHFUL DOG. *Pennant. Brit. Zool.* N° 10.
- C. Lupus. *Lin.* 58.
 Le Loup. L. Vulgaris. *Briss.* 170.
 VOL. II. 3 K

The

The WOLF. *Br. Zool.* 8°, 1. p. 75. t. 5. *Penn. Hist. Quad.* N° 137.
Not uncommon in the Vallais; but rare in the mountains of Gessenay. In the mountains of Savoy, and on the Jura.

C. Vulpes. *Lin.* 49.

Le Renard. V. Vulgaris. *Briff. Quad.* p. 173.

The Fox. *Br. Zool.* N° 11.

C. Alopex. *Lin.* 59.

BLACK-TAILED FOX. *Br. Zool.* N° 139. a.

FELIS. *Lin.* 60.

F. Catus domesticus. Le Chat domestique. *Briff.* 191.
HOUSE CAT.

Catus Sylvestris. *Lin.* 62.

Le Chat Sauvage. F. Sylvestris. *Briff.* 192.

WILD CAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 12.

F. Lynx. *Lin.* 62.

Le Loup-Cervier. Lynx. *Briff.* 200.

The LYNX. *Hist. Quad.* N° 170.

On the mountains near the Alps, and in Faucigny. Often seen in the bailliage of Interlachen, and in the land of Hasli.

MUSTELA. *Lin.* 66.

M. Martes, gutture albo. *Lin.* 67.

La Fouine. Foyna. *Briff.* 178.

The MARTIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 15.

Martes. gutture flavo. *Lin.* 67.

La Marte. Martes. *Briff.* 179.

PINE MARTIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 16. t. 6.

M. Putorius. *Lin.* 67.

Le Potois. Putorius. *Briff.* 180.

The FITCHET. *Br. Zool.* N° 14. t. 6.

M. Furo. *Lin.* 68.

Le Furet. Viverra. *Briff.* 177.

The FERRET. *Hist. Quad.* N° 198.

M. Vulgaris.

La Belette. *Briff.* 175.

COMMON WEESEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 17.

M. Erminea. *Lin.* 68.

L'Ermine. Hermineum. *Briff.* 276.

The STOAT, or ERMINE. *Br. Zool.* N° 18. t. 7.

Rare in Switzerland.

M. Lutra. *Lin.* 66.

L'Outre.

L'Outre. Lutra. *Briff.* 201.

The OTTER. *Br. Zool.* N° 19. t. 8.

In the brooks and rivulets on the mountains: rarely in the plains.

URSUS. *Lin.* 69.

U. Arctos. *Lin.* 69. Niger α .

L'Ours. Ursus. *Briff.* 187.

BLACK BEAR. *Br. Zool.* 1. p. 77. *Hist. Quad.* N° 174.

Sometimes seen; but rarely.

— — Fuscus β .

BROWN BEAR.

Not a native, but frequently strays from Burgundy into Switzerland.

— — Albus γ .

WHITE BEAR.—Rare.

U. Meles. *Lin.* 70.

Blaireau. Meles. *Briff.* 183.

BADGER. *Br. Zool.* N° 85. t. 8.

TALPA. *Lin.* 73.

T. Europæa. *Lin.* 73.

La Taupe. T. Vulgaris. *Briff.* 204.

The MOLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 34.

Alba. β .

Taupe blanche. Talpa alba. *Briff.* 205.

WHITE MOLE.—Rare.

SOREX. *Lin.* 73.

S. Arancus. *Lin.* 74.

Mufaraigne. Mufaraneus. *Briff.* 126.

COMMON SHREW. *Br. Zool.* N° 32.

Common in the Plains.

S. Daubentonii. *Hist. de l'Acad.* an. 1756. p. 11.

Mufaraigne d'eau. Mufaraneus aquaticus. *Briff.* 127.

WATER SHREW. *Br. Zool.* N° 33.

Rare in Switzerland.

ERINACEUS. *Lin.* 75.

E. Europæus. *Lin.* 75.

L'Herisson. Erinaceus. *Briff.* 128.

The URCHIN, or HEDGE-HOG. *Br. Zool.* N° 35.

ORDO IV. GLIRES.

LEPUS. *Lin.* 77.

L. Timidus α . *Lin.* 77.

Le Lievre commun. *Lepus*. *Briff.* 94.

The COMMON HARE. *Br. Zool.* N° 20.

Very common.

Le Lievre blanc. *Lepus variabilis*, apice aurium atro, cauda concolore alba. *Pallas Nov. Spec.* 1.

VARYING, OR ALPINE HARE. *Br. Zool.* N° 21. t. 8. *Hist. Quad.* N° 242.

There is great reason to believe this to be a distinct species. Both are found on the mountains, but the White Hare never descends into the plains, keeping on the borders of the Glaciers and on the Alps; and the chasseurs in Switzerland assure us, as does Mr. Penant, that it does not mix with the Common Hare, neither is the flesh so palatable as that of the common kind. *Mr. Wittenbach.*

C A S T O R. *Lin.* 78.

C. Fiber. *Lin.* 78.

Le Castor, ou le Bievre. C. five Fiber. *Briff.* 90.

The BEAVER. *Br. Zool.* 1. 8°. p. 96. *Hist. Quad.* N° 251.

This animal was formerly found in the Aar, and in the lake of Brientz, but I believe it is now extinct in Switzerland.

M U S. *Lin.* 79.

Mus Marmota. *Lin.* 81.

Glis Marmota. *Wittenb.*

La Marmotte. *Marmota Alpina*. *Briff.* 117.

The MARMOT. *Hist. Quad.* N° 258.

Common on the slopes of the Alps where grass is to be found. It makes a whistling or hissing noise on the approach of the chasseurs. The flesh is eaten, and the fat sold to the apothecaries, who make an ointment with it which is in repute for burns.

M. Cricetus. *Lin.* 82.

Le Hamster. *Marmota Argenteratensis*. *Briff.* 117.

The HAMSTER RAT. *Hist. Quad.* N° 324.

I have been informed that this species has been seen, though rarely, about the Aar, and in the canton of Berne.

M. Rattus. *Lin.* 83.

Le Rat commun. *Rattus*. *Briff.* 118.

BLACK RAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 25.

M. Amphibius. *Lin.* 82.

Le Rat d Eau. *M. Aquaticus*. *Briff.* 124.

WATER RAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 27.

M. Sylvaticus. *Lin.* 84.

La Mulot. *M. Agrorum*. *Briff.* 123.

FIELD MOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 28.

Very common, not in fields only, but in the woods.

M. Musculus.

M. Musculus. *Lin.* 83.

Le Souris. Sorex. *Briff.* 119.

MOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 30.—Very common in houses.

M. Terrestris. *Lin.* 82.

Le Campagnol. M. Campestris Minor. *Briff.* 123.

SHORT-TAILED MOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 31.—Common.

M. Œconomus. *Pallas.* Cauda subfœquenciali, auriculis nudis, vel-
lere molli, latentibus palmis subtetradactylis, corpore fusco, tab. 14.

A. *Pallas.* *Pen. Hist. Quad.* N° 313.

This animal is known in the Pais de Vaud by the name of the *Mole*, and is common both on the mountains and the plains of that district. M. Van Berchem was the first who discovered it to be the *M. œconomus* of Pallas. It was also found, by M. Amstein, in the country of the Grisons.

SCIURUS. *Lin.* 86.

S. Vulgaris. *Lin.* 86.

L'Ecureuil. S. vulgaris. *Briff.* 104.

COMMON SQUIRREL. *Br. Zool.* N° 23.

Two varieties are found in Switzerland; the common red squirrel with a white belly, and another black, with a white belly. The latter is larger, and less frequent than the red squirrel.

S. Glis. *Lin.* 87.

Le Loir. Glis. *Briff.* 113.

FAT DORMOUSE. *Hist. Quad.* N° 287.

S. Avellanarius. Mus avellanarius. *Lin.* 83.

Muscardin. M. avellanarum minor. *Briff.* 115.

THE DORMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 24.

S. Quercinus. Mus quercinus. *Lin.* 84.

Le Lerot. Rat blanc. M. Avellanarum major. *Briff.* 114.

GARDEN DORMOUSE. *Hist. Quad.* N° 288.

This is very rare.

ORDO V. PECORA.

CERVUS. *Lin.* 92.

C. Elaphus. *Lin.* 93.

Le Cerf. Cervus. *Briff.* 58.

THE STAG. *Br. Zool.* N° 6.

This is rare in the Pais de Vaud, but more frequent in the plains and mountains of the German district of the canton of Berne.

C. Capreolus. *Lin.* 94.

Le Chevreuil. Capreolus. *Briff.* 61.

The

The ROE-BUCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 8. t. 4.

On the lower parts of mount Jura, and elsewhere in the plains.

CAPRA. *Lin.* 94.

Antilope Rupicapra. *Pallas Miscell. Fasc.* 1. p. 7. & *Fasc.* 12. p. 12.

Capra Rupicapra. *Lin.* 95.

Le Chamois. Rupicapra. *Briff.* 41.

CHAMOIS ANTILOPE. *Hist. Quad.* N° 17.

Only on the highest Alps; descending in winter to the lower mountains.

C. Hircus. *Lin.* 94.

Le Bouc. Le Cheyre domestique. *Hircus et Capra domestica.*
Briff. 38.

DOMESTIC GOAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 5.

There is a variety with four horns, found on the Alps in the canton of Berne.

C. Ibex. *Lin.* p. 95.

Le Bouc estain. Ibex. *Briff.* 29.

WILD GOAT, IBEX GOAT. *Hist. Quad.* N° 13.

Extremely rare now in Switzerland.

Bouquetin. *Buffon. Hist. Nat.* xii. p. 136. t. 13. 14.

ORDO VI. BELLUÆ.

EQUUS. *Lin.* 100.

E. Caballus. *Lin.* 100.

Le Cheyal. Equus. *Briff.* 69.

The HORSE.

E. Asinus. *Lin.* 100.

L'Ane. Asinus. *Briff.* 70.

The ASS.

Asinus Mulus β. *Lin.* 101.

Le Mulet. Mulus. *Briff.* 71.

The MULE. *Br. Zool.* N° 8.

SUS. *Lin.* 102.

S. Scrofa. Aper. *Lin.* 102.

Le Sanglier. Aper. *Briff.* 75.

The WILD HOG. *Hist. Quad.* N° 61.

On mount Jura, and in the adjacent country.

Scrofa. Sus. *Lin.* 102.

Le Cochon domestique. *Sus domesticus.* *Briff.* 74.

TAME HOG. *Br. Zool.* N° 9.

CLASS

CLASS II.

A V E S.

ORDO I. ACCIPITRES. RAPACIOUS.

VULTUR. *Lin.* 121. VULTURE.Vultur Barbatus. *Lin.* 121.Aureus. *Gesner. Av. edit.* 1620. p. 708.V. barbu. *Briffon.* 6. *App.* p. 26.BEARDED VULTURE. *Edwards.* t. 106.

This bird frequents the Pennine, Rhætian, and Tyrolese Alps. It is found also in Corsica, Sardinia, and probably in Barbary, as well as on mount Caucasus and in Dauria, or the south-eastern parts of Siberia. It connects the Vultures with the Eagles. In the form of the beak and of the body it resembles the Vulture, but differs from that genus in having the head, like that of the Eagles, covered with feathers. It is now so well defined, especially by M. Sprungli, that it can no longer be mistaken *. The German peasants of Switzerland name this bird, by way of eminence, the *Lammer-geyer*, and relate incredible tales of its size and voraciousness: The peasants of the French district frequently call it *Le Vautour Jaune*.

FALCO. *Lin.* p. 124. FALCON.F. Offifragus. *Lin.* 124.Le Grand Aigle de Mer. Aquila offifraga. *Briff.* 1. p. 437.SEA EAGLE. *Pen. Br. Zool.* N° 44. t. 17.

Frequent about the lakes.

F. Chrysaëtos. *Lin.* 125.L'Aigle doré. feu Aq. aurea. *Briff.* 1. 431.GOLDEN EAGLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 42. t. 16. frontispiece.

On Mount Jura.

F. Fulvus. *Lin.* 125.L'Aigle. Aquila. *Briff.* 1. 419.BLACK EAGLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 43.

The peasants of Switzerland call this bird the *Lammer-geyer brun*, to distinguish it from the *Vautour Jaune*. Mr. Pennant informs us, on the authority of Mr. Oedman, that this bird is only the young of Linnæus's F. Melanætos, p. 124. See Supp. to *Arctic Zoology*, p. 57.

F. Haliaëtus. *Lin.* 129.L'Aigle de Mer. feu Aquila Marina. *Briff.* 1. 440. t. 34.The OSPREY. *Br. Zool.* N° 46. *Flor. Scot.* 17. t. 1.

* See Letter 58.

- F.*Pygargus. *Lin.* 126.
 La Soubuse. Le Faucon à Collier. *Falco torquatus.* *Briss.* 1.
 345. ?
 RING-TAILED FALCON.—Very rare.
- F. Milvus. *Lin.* 126.
 Le Milan Royal. *Milvus regalis.* *Briss.* 1. 414. t. 33.
 The KITE. *Br. Zool.* N° 53.
- F. Subbuteo. *Lin.* 127.
 Le Hobreau. *Dendrofalco.* *Briss.* 1. 375.
 The HOBBY. *Br. Zool.* N° 61.
- F. Buteo. *Lin.* 127.
 La Buse. *Buteo.* *Briss.* 1. 406.
 The BUZZARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 55. t. 25.
 Very common.
- F. Tinnunculus. *Lin.* 127.
 La Cresserelle. *Tinnunculus.* *Briss.* 1. 393.
 The KESTRIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 60.
- F.*Lanarius. *Lin.* 129.
 Le Lanier. *Lanarius.* *Briss.* 1. 363.
 The LANNER. *Br. Zool.* N° 51. t. 22.
- F. Apivorus. *Lin.* 130.
 La Boudrée. *Buteo apivorus* f. *vescivorus.* *Briss.* 1. 410.
 HONEY BUZZARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 56.
- F. Palumbarius. *Lin.* 130.
 L'Autour. *Astur.* *Briss.* 1. 317.
 GOSHAWK. *Br. Zool.* N° 52. t. 24.
- F. Nifus. *Lin.* 130.
 L'Epervier. *Accipiter.* *Briss.* 1. 310.
 SPARROW HAWK. *Br. Zool.* N° 62.
- F. Lithofalco. Le Faucon de Roche, ou Rochier. *Briss.* 1. 349.
 STONE FALCON. *Latham.* 1. p. 92.
- F. Leucocephalus. Le Faucon a tête blanche. *Briss.* 1. 325. Var. C.
 et Le Faucon patu. *F. pedibus pennatis.* *ejusd.* 6. *App.* 22. t. 1.
 ROUGH-LEGGED FALCON. *Br. Zool. App.* 623. t. 1. ?
- F.*Circus rufus. Le Buzard roux. *Briss.* 1. p. 404.
 HARPY FALCON. *Latham.* 1. p. 51.
- F. Peregrinus. Le Faucon pelerin. *Briss.* 1. 341.
 PEREGRINE FALCON. *Br. Zool.* N° 48. t. 20.
- F. Æsalon. *Buffon.*
 L'Emerillon. *Briss.* 1. 382.
 The MERLIN. *Br. Zool. fol.* xv.

STRIX. *Lin.* 131. OWL.

- S. Bubo. *Lin.* 131.
 Le Grand Duc. Bubo. *Briff.* 1. 477.
 EAGLE OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 64.
 Frequent among the rocks on the mountains.
- S. Otus. *Lin.* 132.
 Le Moyen Duc, ou le Hibou. *Asio. Briff.* 1. 486.
 LONG-EARED HORN OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 65. t. 30.
- S. Scops. *Lin.* 132.
 Le petit Duc. Scops. *Briff.* 1. 495. t. 37. f. 1.
 SCOPS, or LITTLE HORN OWL. *Latham.* 1. p. 129.
- S. Aluco. *Lin.* 132.
 La Hulotte. Ulula. *Br. Zool.* 1. 507.
 BROWN OWL? or ALUCO? *Latham.* 1. p. 140.
- S. Flammea. *Lin.* 133.
 L'Effraie, ou la Fraîsage. Le petit Chathuant. Aluco. *Briff.* 1. 503.
 WHITE OWL, or BARN OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 67.
- S. Stridula. *Lin.* 133.
 Le Chathuant. Strix. *Briff.* 1. 500.
 TAWNY OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 68.
- S. Ulula. *Lin.* 133.
 La Choutte, ou La grande Cheveche. Noctua Major. *Briff.* 1. 511.
 BROWN OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 69. t. 32.
- S. Passerina. *Lin.* 133.
 La Chevache. Noctua minor. *Briff.* 1. 514.
 LITTLE OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 70.

LANIUS. *Lin.* 134. SHRIKE.

- L. Excubitor. *Lin.* 134.
 La Pie Grièche grise. Lanius cinereus. *Briff.* 2. 141.
 GREAT SHRIKE. *Br. Zool.* N° 71. t. 33.
- L. Collurio. *Lin.* 136.
 L'Ecorcheur. Collurio. *Briff.* 2. 151.
 RED-BACKED SHRIKE. *Br. Zool.* N° 72.
- L. Rufus. La Pie Grièche rousse. *Briff.* 2. 147.
 Eadem cum priori ex sententia *Linnaei.*
 WOOD-CHAT SHRIKE. *Br. Zool.* N° 73. *Latham.* 1. p. 169.

ORDO II. PICÆ. PIES.

CORVUS. *Lin.* 155. CROW.

- C. Corax. *Lin.* 155.
 Le Corbeau. Corvus. *Briff.* 2. p. 8.
 The RAVEN. *Br. Zool.* N° 74.

- C. Corone. *Lin.* 155.
 La Corneille. Cornix. *Briff.* 2. p. 12.
 CARRION CROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 75. t. 34.
- C. Frugilegus. *Lin.* 156.
 Le Freux. Le Corneille moisonneuse. Cornix frugilega. *Briff.*
 2. p. 16.
 The Rook. *Br. Zool.* N° 76.
- C. Cornix. *Lin.* 156.
 La Corneille moutillé. Cornix cinerea. *Briff.* 2. p. 19.
 HOODED CROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 77. *Flor. Scot.* t. 2.
 Rarely seen, and only in winter.
- C. Monedula. *Lin.* 156.
 Le Choucas. Monedula f. Lupus. *Briff.* 2. p. 24.
 The JACK-DAW. *Br. Zool.* N° 81.
- C. Glandarius. *Lin.* 156.
 Le Geay. Garrulus. *Briff.* 2. p. 47.
 The JAY. *Br. Zool.* N° 79.
- C. Caryocatactes. *Lin.* 157.
 Le Casse-noix. Nucifraga. *Briff.* 2. p. 59. t. 5. f. 1.
 NUT-BREAKER. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 531. t. 3.
 Common in the woods.
- C. Pica. *Lin.* 157.
 La Pie. Pica varia f. caudata. *Briff.* 2. p. 35.
 The MAGPIE. *Br. Zool.* N° 78.
- C. Pyrrhocorax. *Lin.* 158.
 Le Choucas des Alpes. Pyrrhocorax. *Briff.* 2. p. 30. t. 1. f. 2.
 ALPINE CROW. *Latham.* 1. 381.
 Frequent in the Alps.
- C. Graculus. *Lin.* 158.
 Le Coracias. Coracia. *Briff.* 2. p. 3. t. 1. f. 1.
 RED-LEGGED CROW. *Latham.* 1. p. 401. *Br. Zool.* N° 80. t. 35.
 In the Alps, but less frequent than the foregoing species.
- C. Eremita. *Lin.* 159.
 Le Coracias hupé. Coracia cristata. *Briff.* 2. p. 6.
 HERMIT CROW. *Latham.* 1. p. 403.
 This bird is entirely unknown to M. Sprungli, though said to be
 a native of the Swiss mountains. He took great pains to discover it,
 but in vain; and suspects, after all, that if it does really exist, it is
 only a variety of the preceding.
- CORACIAS. *Lin.* 159. ROLLER.
- C. Garrula. *Lin.* 159.
 Le Rollier. Galgulus. *Briff.* 2. p. 64. t. 5. f. 2.

The

The ROLLER. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* p. 624. t. 2.
Rare, and only seen in the summer season.

ORIOIUS. *Lin.* 160. ORIOLE.

- O. Galbula. *Lin.* 160.
Le Lorient. Oriolus. *Briff.* 2. p. 320.
The ORIOLE. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* p. 626. t. 4.
Uncommon in Switzerland.

CUCULUS. *Lin.* 168. CUCKOW.

- C. Canorus. *Lin.* 168.
Le Coucou. Cuculus. *Briff.* 4. p. 105.
The CUCKOO. *Br. Zool.* N° 82. t. 36.

JYNX. *Lin.* 172. WRYNECK.

- J. Torquilla. *Lin.* 172.
Le Torcol. Torquilla. *Briff.* 4. p. 2. t. 1. f. 1.
The WRY-NECK. *Br. Zool.* N° 83. t. 36.

PICUS. *Lin.* 173. WOODPECKER.

- P. Martius. *Lin.* 173.
Pic noir. Picus niger. *Briff.* 4. 21.
BLACK WOODPECKER. *Pen. Art. Zool.* p. 276. *Latham.* 1. p. 552.
Common in the woods abounding in fir-trees.

- P. Viridis. *Lin.* 175.
Pic verd. P. viridis. *Briff.* 4. p. 9.
GREEN WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 84.

- P. Norwegicus.
Le Pic verd de Norwege. *Briff.* 4. p. 19.
Grey-headed green Woodpecker. *Edw.* t. 65.
GREY-HEADED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* p. 277. *Latham.* 1. p. 583.—On the mountains.

- P. Major. *Lin.* 176.
Le grand Pic varié. P. varius major. *Briff.* 4. 34.
GREAT SPOTTED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 85.

- P. Medius. *Lin.* 176.
Le Pic varié. Picus varius. *Briff.* 4. 38.
MIDDLE SPOTTED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 86. t. 37.

- P. Minor. *Lin.* 176.
Le petit Pic varié. P. varius minor. *Briff.* 4. 41.
LEST SPOTTED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 87. t. 37.

- P. Tridactylus. *Lin.* 177.
THREE-TOED WOODPECKER. *Edw.* t. 114. *Pen. Art. Zool.* p. 275.
Latham. 1. p. 600.

Very common in the mountainous part of the canton of Berne.

SITTA. *Lin.* 177. NUTHATCH.S. Europæa. *Lin.* 177.Le Torche-pot. Sitta, f. Picus cinereus. *Briff.* 3. 588. t. 28. f. 3.The NUTHATCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 89. t. 38.ALCEDO. *Lin.* p. 178. KINGFISHER.A. Ispida. *Lin.* 178.Le Martin Pêcheur. Ispida. *Briff.* 4. 471.KINGFISHER. *Br. Zool.* N° 88. t. 38.

Frequent in Switzerland, particularly about fish-ponds.

MEROPS. *Lin.* 182. BEE-EATER.M. Apiafter. *Lin.* 182.Le Guaspier. Apiafter. *Briff.* 4. 532.BEE-EATER. *Latham.* 1. p. 667.CERTHIA. *Lin.* 184. CREEPER.C. Familiaris. *Lin.* 184.Le Grimpereau. Certhia. *Briff.* 3. 603.The CREEPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 91. t. 39.C. Muraria. *Lin.* 184.Le Grimpereau de muraille. C. muralis. *Briff.* 3. 607. t. 30. f. 1.WALL-CREEPER. *Latham.* 1. 730. *Edw.* t. 361.

Common, in summer, on the mountains; in winter, about towns and villages.

UPUPA. *Lin.* 183. HOOPEE.U. Epops. *Lin.* 183.La Hupe, ou Puput. Upapa. *Briff.* 2. 455. t. 43. f. 1.The HOOPEE. *Br. Zool.* N° 90. t. 39.

Common in the summer.

ORDO III. ANSERES. WEB-FOOTED.

ANAS. *Lin.* 194. DUCK.A. Cygnus ferus. *Lin.* 194.La Cygne sauvage. C. ferus. *Briff.* 6. 292. t. 28.WILD SWAN. *Br. Zool.* N° 264.

Visits Switzerland only in very severe winters.

A. Anser ferus. *Lin.* 197.L'Oye sauvage. Anser sylvestris. *Briff.* 6. 265.GREY LAG GOOSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 266. *Latham.* 3. 459.A. Clypeata. *Lin.* 200.Le Souchet. A. Clypeata. *Briff.* 6. 329. t. 32. f. 1.The SHOVELER. *Br. Zool.* N° 280.

A. Strepera.

- A. Strepera. *Lin.* 200.
 Le Chipau. A. Strepera. *Briff.* 6. 339. t. 33. f. 1.
 The GODWALL. *Br. Zool.* N° 288.
- A. Clangula. *Lin.* 201.
 Le Garrot. A. Clangula. *Briff.* 6. 416. t. 37. f. 2.
 GOLDEN-EYE DUCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 276.
- A. Acuta. *Lin.* 202.
 Le Canard a longue queue. A. Longicauda. *Briff.* 6. 369. t. 34.
 f. 1. 2.
 PINTAIL DUCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 282.
- A. Ferina. *Lin.* p. 203.
 Le Millouin. Penelope. *Briff.* 6. 384. t. 33. f. 1.
 The POCHARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 284.
- A. Penelops. *Lin.* 202.
 Le Canard siffleur. A. fistularis. *Briff.* 6. 391. t. 35. f. 2.
 The WIGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 286.
- A. Fistularis cristata.
 Le Canard siffleur hupé. *Briff.* 6. 398. *Pl. Enlum.* N° 928.
 RED-CRESTED DUCK. *Latham.* 3. 544.
- A. Querquedula. *Lin.* 203.
 La Sarcelle. Querquedula. *Briff.* 6. 427. t. 39. f. 1. 2.
 The GARGANEY. *Br. Zool.* N° 289. t. 101.
- A. Crecca. *Lin.* 204.
 La Petit Sarcelle. Querquedula Minor. *Briff.* 6. 436. t. 40. f. 1.
 The TEAL. *Br. Zool.* N° 290.
- A. Boschas. *Lin.* 288.
 Le Canard Sauvage. A. fera. *Briff.* 6. 318.
 The MALLARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 274.
- A. Fuligula. *Lin.* 207.
 Le Petit Morillon. Glaucium Minus. *Briff.* 411. t. 37. f. 1.
 TUFTED DUCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 274.
- MERGU'S. *Lin.* 207. MERGANSER.
- M. Merganser. *Lin.* 208.
 L'Harle. Merganser. *Briff.* 6. 231. t. 22.
 The GOOSEANDER. *Br. Zool.* N° 260. t. 92.
- M. Serrator. *Lin.* 208.
 L'Harle hupé. M. cristatus. *Briff.* 6. 237. t. 23.
 RED-BREASTED MERGANSER. *Br. Zool.* N° 261. t. 93.
- M. Castor. *Lin.* 209.

Le Bievre, ou le Harle cendrée. *M. cinereus*. *Briff.* 6. 254. t. 25.
DUN DIVER, variety A. *Latham.* 3. 421.

M. Albellus. *Lin.* 209.

La Piette, ou Le Petit Harle hupé. *M. cristatus Minor*. *Briff.* 6. 243, t. 24. f. 1. 2.

The SMEW. *Br. Zool.* N° 262.

The *M. Minutus* *Lin.* is the female Smew.

PELECANUS. *Lin.* 215. PELECAN.

*P. *Onocratalus*. *Lin.* 215.

Le Pelican Onocratalus. *Briff.* 6. 519.

GRAT WHITE PELICAN. *Latham.* 3. 575. *Pen. Art. Zool.* p. 578.
Edw. t. 92.

This bird rarely visits Switzerland.

P. Carbo. *Lin.* 216.

Le Cormorant. *Phalacrocorax*. *Briff.* 6. 511. t. 45.

The CORVORANT. *Br. Zool.* N° 291.

*P. *Graculus*. *Lin.* 217.

Le Petit Cormoran. *Phalacrocorax Minor*. *Briff.* 6. 516.

The SHAG. *Br. Zool.* N° 292. t. 102.

COLYMBUS. *Lin.* 220. DIVER.

C. Immer. *Lin.* 222.

Le Grand Plongeon. *Mergus Major*. *Briff.* 6. 105. t. 10. f. 1.

The IMBER DIVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 238. t. 84.

Sometimes seen in the winter season.

C. Mergus Minor. Le Petit Plongeon. *Briff.* 6. 108. t. 10. f. 2.

SPECKLED DIVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 239. *Latham.* 3. 343.

*C. *Arcticus*. *Lin.* 221.

Le Plongeon à gorge noire. *Mergus gutture Nigro*. *Briff.* 6. 115.

BLACK-THROATED DIVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 241. t. 85. *Latham.* 3. p. 341.—Very rare.

C. Cristatus. *Lin.* 221.

La Grebe cornue. *Colymbus cornutus*. *Briff.* 6. 45. t. 5. f. 1.

GREAT-CRESTED GREBE. *Br. Zool.* N° 223.

C. Auritus α. *Lin.* 222.

La Petite Grebe cornue. *C. cornutus Minor*. *Briff.* 6. 50.

EARED DOBCHICK. *Br. Zool.* N° 224. t. 79.

Le Grebe d'Esclavonie. *Pl. Enlum.* t. 404. 2. *Latham.* 3. p. 288.

Auritus β. La Grebe à Oreilles. *C. auritus*. *Briff.* 6. 54.

EARED GREBE. *Latham.* 3. 285.

This bird appears to be a different species from the *Auritus α*.

Auritus γ.

- Auritus γ . La Grebe de Riviere. *C. fluviatilis*. *Briff.* 6. 59.
This bird has still more the appearance of a different species.
- C. Urinator. *Lin.* 223.
La Grebe. *Colymbus*. *Briff.* 6. 34. t. 3. f. 1.
TIPPET GREBE. *Br. Zool.* N° 222. t. 88.
- C. Griseus. La Grebe à joues grises, ou le Jougris. *Buff. Ois.* 8. 242.
Pl. Enlum. 931.
RED-NECKED GREBE. *Art. Zool.* p. 499. *C. Suppl.* p. 69. *Latham.* 3. 288.
- C. Minor. La Petit Grebe. *Briff.* 6. p. 56.
Grebion a yeux rouges. *Pl. Enlum.* 942.
DUSKY GREBE. N° 225. *Latham.* 3. p. 286.
LARUS. *Lin.* 224. GULL.
- L. Tridactylus. *Lin.* 224.
La Mouette d'Hiver. *Gavia hyberna*. *Briff.* 6. 189.
WINTER MEW. *Latham.* 3. 384.
- L. Canus. *Lin.* 224.
La Mouette cendrée. *Gavia cinerea*. *Briff.* 6. 175. t. 16. f. 1.
COMMON GULL. *Br. Zool.* N° 249. t. 89.
- L. Cinerarius. *Lin.* 224.
Le Petite Mouette cendrée. *Briff.* 6. 178. t. 17. f. 1.
RED-LEGGED GULL. *Latham.* 3. p. 381. *Br. Zool. Variety.* p. 542.
- L. Fuscus. *Lin.* 225.
Le Goeland gris. *L. griseus*. *Briff.* 6. 162.
HERRING GULL. *Br. Zool.* N° 246. t. 88.
- L. Atricilla. *Lin.* 225.
La Mouette rieuse. *Gavia ridibunda*. *Briff.* 6. 192. t. 18. f. 1.
LAUGHING GULL. *Catesby.* 1. t. 89. *Latham.* 3. 383. *Pen. Art. Zool.* p. 528.
- L. Parasiticus. *Lin.* 226.
Le Stercoraire. *Stercorarius longicaudatus*. *Briff.* 6. p. 155. & p. 150.
ARCTIC GULL. *Latham.* 3. p. 389. *Br. Zool.* N° 245. t. 87.—
This appears only in winter.
- L. Varius, five Skua. La Goiland varié, ou Le Grifard. *Briff.* 6. 167.
t. 15. bona.
WAGEL GULL. *Latham.* 3. 375. *Br. Zool.* N° 247.
- L. Cinereus minor, rectricibus albis, remigibus omnibus cinereis, apice albis. *L. cinereus minor, seu fecundus*. *Aldrovand.* iii. p. 35.

STERNA. *Lin.* 227. TERN.

- S. Hirundo. *Lin.* 227.
 La grande Hirondelle de mer. Sterna major. *Briff.* 6. 203. t. 19.
 f. 1.
 GREAT TERN. *Br. Zool.* N° 254. t. 90.
- S. Fiffipes. *Lin.* 228.
 L'Hirondelle de mer noire, ou Le Epouvantail. S. nigra. *Briff.* 6.
 211. t. 20. f. 1.
 BLACK TERN. *Br. Zool.* N° 256.
- S. Nævia. *Lin.* 228.
 L'Hirondelle de mer tachettée. S. nævia. *Briff.* 6. 216. t. 20. f. 2.
 SANDWICH TERN. Variety A. *Latham.* p. 358?

ORDO IV. GRALLÆ. WADERS.

PLATALEA. *Lin.* 231. SPOONBILL.

- P. Leucorodia. *Lin.* 231.
 La Spatule. Platea. *Briff.* 5. 352.
 SPOONBILL. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 634. t. 9.
 Now and then seen in the marshes.

ARDEA. *Lin.* 233. CRANE.

- A. Grus. *Lin.* 234.
 La Grue. Grus. *Briff.* 5. 374. t. 33.
 The CRANE. *Br. Zool.* *App.* 629. t. 6.
 Only seen in the spring in its migration.
- A. Ciconia. *Lin.* 235.
 La Cigogne Blanche. Ciconia alba. *Briff.* 5. 365. t. 32.
 The STORK. *Latham.* 3. 47. *Pen. Arct. Zool.* p. 455.
 Common in the marshes and low grounds.
- A. Nigra. *Lin.* 235.
 La Cigogne brune. Ciconia fusca. *Briff.* 5. 362. t. 31.
 BLACK STORK. *Latham.* 3. p. 50. *Arct. Zool.* p. 456.
 Less common than the foregoing.
- A. Nycticorax. *Lin.* 235.
 Le Bihoreau. Nycticorax. *Briff.* 5. 493. t. 39.
 ASH-COLOURED CRANE, or NIGHT RAVEN, male,
Latham. 3. 52. *Arct. Zool.* p. 450.
- A. Purpurea. *Lin.* 236.
 Le Heron pourpre hupé. A. cristata purpurascens, *Briff.* 5. t. 36.
 f. 2.
 CRESTED PURPLE HERON. *Latham.* 3. p. 95.

A. Major.

- A. Major. *Lin.* 236.
 Le Heron hupé. A. cristata. *Briff.* 5. 396. t. 35.
 COMMON HERON, male. *Latham.* 3. 83. *Br. Zool.* N° 173. t. 61.
- A. Cinerea. *Lin.* 236.
 Le Heron, Ardea. *Briff.* 5. 392. t. 34. et Le Heron cendrée,
 p. 403.
 COMMON HERON, female. *Latham.* ib. *Br. Zool.* ib.
 Very common in Switzerland.
- A. Garzetta. *Lin.* 237.
 L'Aigrette. Egretta. *Briff.* 5. 431.
 The LITTLE EGRET. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* p. 631. t. 7. *Latham.* 3. 90.
- A. Stellaris. *Lin.* 239.
 Le Butor. Botaurus. *Briff.* 5. 444. t. 37. f. 1.
 The BITTERN. *Br. Zool.* N° 174.
- A. Alba. *Lin.* 239.
 Le Heron Blanc. A. candida. *Briff.* 5. 428.
 WHITE HERON. *Br. Zool.* N° 175.—Very rarely seen.
- A. Minuta β . *Lin.* 240.
 Le Blongios. Ardeola. *Briff.* 497. t. 40. f. 1.
 LITTLE BITTERN. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 633. t. 8.
 Common.
- A. Grisea. *Lin.* 239.
 Le Heron gris. A. grisea. *Briff.* 5. 412. t. 36. f. 1.
 ASH-COLOURED CRANE, or NIGHT RAVEN, female. *Latham.* 3. 53.
- A. Huppé de Mahon. *Pl. Enlum.* t. 348.
 MAHON HERON.

TANTALUS. *Lin.* 240. IBIS.

- T. Falcinellas. *Lin.* 241.
 Le Courly verd. Numenius viridis. *Briff.* 5. 326. t. 37. f. 2.
 BAY IBIS. *Latham.* 3. 213. *Arch. Zool.* p. 460.
 A few of these birds are seen every year in Switzerland.

SCOLOPAX. *Lin.* 242. CURLEW.

- S. Arquata. *Lin.* 242.
 Le Courly. Numenius. *Briff.* 5. 311.
 The CURLEW. *Br. Zool.* N° 176. t. 63.
- S. Phæopus. *Lin.* 243.
 Demi Courly. Le Petit Courly, ou le Corlieu. *Briff.* 5. 317. t. 37.
 f. 1. Numenius minor.
 The WHIMBRIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 177. t. 64.

- S. Rusticola. *Lin.* 243.
 La Beccasse. Scolopax. *Briff.* 5. 292.
 WOODCOCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 178. t. 65.
 It breeds in the Alpine mountains.
- S. Gallinago. *Lin.* 244.
 La Beccafine. Gallinago. *Briff.* 5. 298. t. 26. f. 1.
 COMMON SNIPE. *Br. Zool.* N° 187. t. 68.
- S. Gallinula. *Lin.* 244.
 La Petite Beccafine. Gallinago minor. *Briff.* 5. 303. t. 26. f. 2.
 JACK SNIPE. *Br. Zool.* N° 189. t. 68.
- S. Glottis. *Lin.* 245.
 La grande Barge grise. Limosa grisea major. *Briff.* 5. 273. t. 24. f. 2.
 GREEN SHANK. *Br. Zool.* N° 183.
- S. Limosa. *Lin.* 245.
 Le Barge. Limosa. *Briff.* 5. 262.
 LESSER GODWIT. *Br. Zool.* N° 182.
- S. Totanus. *Lin.* 245.
 La Barge grise. Limosa grisea. *Briff.* 5. 267. t. 23. f. 1.
 SPOTTED SNIPE. *Latham.* 3. 148. *Br. Zool.* N° 186.
- S. Calidris. *Lin.* 245.
 Le Chevalier. Totanus. *Briff.* 5. 188. t. 17. f. 1.
 RED SHANK. *Br. Zool.* N° 184. t. 65.
- S. Fusca. *Lin.* 243?
 La Barge brune. Limosa fusca. *Briff.* 5. 276. t. 23. f. 2.
 DUSKY SNIPE. *Latham.* 3. 155. *Arch. Zool.* p. 471?

TRINGA. *Lin.* 247. SANDPIPER.

- T. Pugnax. *Lin.* 247.
 Le Combattant, ou Paon de Mers. Pugnax. *Briff.* 5. p. 240. t. 22.
 f. 1. 2.
 The RUFFE. *Br. Zool.* N° 192. t. 69.
- T. Vanellus. *Lin.* 248.
 Le Vanneau. Vanellus. *Briff.* 5. 94. t. 8. f. 1.
 The LAPWING. *Br. Zool.* N° 190.
- T. Interpres. *Lin.* 248.
 Le Coulon chaud. Arenaria. *Briff.* 5. 132.
 HEBRIDAL SANDPIPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 200. *Fl. Scot.* t. 3.
- T. Morinella. *Lin.* 249.
 Le Coulon-chaud cendré. Arenaria cinerea. *Briff.* 5. 137. t. 11.
 f. 2.
 The TURNSTONE. *Br. Zool.* N° 199.

T. Lobata.

- T. Lobata. *Lin.* 249.
 Le Phalarope. Phalaropus. *Briff.* 6. 12.
 GREY PHALAROPE. *Latham.* 3. 272. *Br. Zool.* N° 218. t. 86.
- T. Alpina. *Lin.* 249.
 L'Alouette de Mer à Collier. Cinclus torquatus. *Briff.* 5. 216.
 t. 19. f. 2.
 The DUNLIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 205. *Latham.* 3. 185.
- T. Cinclus. *Lin.* 251.
 L'Alouette de Mer. Cinclus. *Briff.* 5. 211. t. 19. f. 1.
 The PURRE. *Br. Zool.* N° 206. t. 71.
- T. Helvetica. *Lin.* 250.
 Le Vanneau de Suisse. Vanellus helveticus. *Briff.* 5. 106. t. 10. f. 1.
 SWISS SANDPIPER. *Arct. Zool.* p. 478.
 It is not common in Switzerland.
- T. Ocropus. *Lin.* 250.
 Le Beccasseau, ou Cul blanc. Tringa. *Briff.* 5. 177. t. 16. f. 1.
 GREEN SANDPIPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 201.
- T. Hypoleucos. *Lin.* 250.
 La Guignette. Guinetta. *Briff.* 5. 183. t. 16. f. 2.
 COMMON SANDPIPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 204.
- T. Arenaria. *Lin.* 251.
 La Petite Maubeche grise. Calidris grisea minor. *Briff.* 5. 236.
 t. 20. f. 2.
 SANDERLING PLOVER. *Latham.* 3. 197. *Br. Zool.* N° 212.
 t. 73.
- T. Calidris. *Lin.* 252.
 La Maubeche. Calidris. *Briff.* 5. 226. t. 20. f. 1.
 DUSKY SNIPE. *Latham.* 3. 174.
- T. Calidris grisea. La Maubeche grise. *Briff.* 5. 233. t. 21. f. 2.
Pl. Enlum. 366.
 GRISLED SANDPIPER. *Latham.* 3. 175.
- T. Cinclus Minor. La Petite Alouette de Mer. A. *Briff.* 3. 215.
 A variety of the T. Cinclus *Lin.* or Purre (*Br. Zool.* N° 206.) called
 in Switzerland GRILLET.
- T. Striata. *Lin.* 248.
 Le Chevalier rayé. Totanus striatus. *Briff.* 5. 196. t. 18. f. 1.
 STRIATED SANDPIPER. *Arct. Zool.* p. 472. *Latham.* 3. 176.
- T. Squatarola. *Lin.* 252.
 Le Vanneau gris. Vanellus griseus. *Briff.* 5. 100. t. 9. f. 1.
 GREY PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 191.

CHARADRIUS. *Lin.* 253. PLOVER.C. Hiaticula. *Lin.* 253.

Le petit Pluvier à Collier. *Pluvialis torquata*. *Briff.* 5. 63. t. 5. f. 2.

RINGED PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 211.

C.*Morinellus. *Lin.* 254.

Le Guinard. Morinellus. *Briff.* 5. 54. t. 4. f. 2.

The DOTTEREL PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 210. t. 73.

C. Apricarius. *Lin.* 254.

Le Pluvier doré a ventre noir. *Pluvialis aurea* Freti Hudsoni. *Briff.* 5. 51.

ALWARGRIM PLOVER. *Art. Zool.* p. 483. *Latham.* 3. p. 198.

Spotted P. *Edw.* t. 140.

C. Pluvialis. *Lin.* 254.

Le Pluvier doré. *P. aurea*. *Briff.* 5. 43. t. 4. f. 1.

GOLDEN PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 208. t. 72.

C. Oedicnemus. *Lin.* 255.

Le grand Pluvier, ou Courly de Terre. *Pluvialis Major*. *Briff.* 5. 77. t. 7. f. 1.

THICK-KNEED BUSTARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 100.

C. Himantopus. *Lin.* 255.

L'Echaffè. Himantopus. *Briff.* 5. 33. t. 3. f. 1.

LONG-LEGGED PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 209. *Fl. Scot.* 35. t. 4.

Rarely seen in Switzerland.

C. *Pluvialis Morinellus flavescens*. *Gerini ornithol. a Florence.* t. 474.

Courvite. *Pl. Enlum.* 795.

CREAM-COLOURED PLOVER. *Latham.* 3. 217.

Very rare.

RECURVIROSTRA. *Lin.* 256. AVOSET.R. Avocetta. *Lin.* 256.

L'Avocette. Avocetta. *Briff.* 6. 538. t. 47. f. 2.

SCOOPING AVOSET. *Br. Zool.* N° 228. t. 80.

HÆMATOPUS. *Lin.* 257. OYSTER-CATCHER.H. Ostralegus. *Lin.* 257.

L'Huitrier, ou Pic marin. *Ostralega*. *Briff.* 5. 38. t. 3. f. 2.

PIED OYSTER-CATCHER. *Br. Zool.* N° 213. t. 74.

FULICA.

FULICA. *Lin.* 257. COOT.

- F. Fufca. *Lin.* 257.
 La Petite Poule d'Eau. Gallinula Minor. *Briff.* 6. p. 6.
 BROWN GALLINULE. *Latham.* 3. 260.
- F. Atra. *Lin.* 257.
 La Foulque, ou Morelle. *Briff.* 6. 23. t. 2. f. 1.
 COMMON COOT. *Br. Zool.* N° 220. t. 77.
- F. *Aterrimi. *Lin.* 258.
 La grande Foulque, ou la Macroule. F. Major. *Briff.* 3. 28. t. 2.
 f. 2.
 GREAT COOT. *Br. Zool.* N° 221.
- F. Chloropus. *Lin.* 258.
 La Poule d'Eau. Gallinula. *Briff.* 6. p. 3. t. 1. f. 1. 2.
 COMMON GALLINULE, OR WATER HEN. *Br. Zool.* N° 217. t. 77.

RALLUS. *Lin.* 261. RAIL.

- R. Crex. *Lin.* 261.
 Le Roi de Caille. Rallas Genistarum. f. Ortygometra. *Briff.* 5.
 159. t. 13. f. 2.
 The CRAKE GALLINULE. *Br. Zool.* N° 216. t. 85.
- R. Aquaticus. *Lin.* 262.
 Le Rosle d'Eau. Rallus aquaticus. *Briff.* 5. 151. t. 12. f. 2.
 WATER RAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 214. t. 75.
- R. Porzana. *Lin.* 262.
 La Marouette. Rallus aquaticus minor. f. Maruetta. *Briff.* 5. 155.
 t. 13. f. 2.
 SPOTTED GALLINULE. *Br. Zool.* N° 215.

GLAREOLA. *Briff.* V. p. 141. Genus 73.

PRATINCOLE.

- G. Pratincola. La Perdrix de Mer. Glareola. *Briff.* 5. 141. t. 12. f. 1.
 Hirundo Pratincola. *Lin.* 345.
 AUSTRIAN PRATINCOLE. *Latham.* 3. p. 222. t. 85.

OTIS. *Lin.* 264. BUSTARD.

- O. Tarda. *Lin.* 264.
 L'Outarde. Otis. *Briff.* 5. 18. *Edw.* t. 73. 74.
 GREAT BUSTARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 98. t. 44.
 Sometimes visits Switzerland in winter.

ORDO V. GALLINÆ. GALLINACEOUS.

TETRAO. *Lin.* 273.T. Urogallus. *Lin.* 273.Le grand Coque de Bruyeres. Urogallus Major. *Briff.* 1. 182.WOOD GROUS. *Br. Zool.* N° 92. t. 40. 41.T. Tetrix. *Lin.* 274.Le petit Coque de Bruyeres, a queue forchue. *Briff.* 1. 186.BLACK GAME, or GROUS. *Br. Zool.* N° 93. t. 42.T. Lagopus. *Lin.* 274.Le Perdrix de Nieve. La Gelinotte blanche. Lagopus. *Briff.* 1. 216.PTARMIGAN. *Br. Zool.* N° 95.T. Bonasia. *Lin.* 275.La Gelinotte. Bonasia. *Briff.* 1. 191.HASSEL GROUS. *Latham.* 2. 744. *Arct. Zool.* p. 317.T.* Attagen. La Gellinotte huppée. *Briff.* 1. 209.RED GROUS. *Latham.* 2. 746. *Br. Zool.* N° 94.T. Rufus. *Lin.* 276.La Bartavelle. Perdix græca. *Briff.* 1. 241. t. 23. f. 1.GREEK PARTRIDGE. *Latham.* 2. 767.

Frequent in Alpine situations.

T. Perdix rubra. La Perdrix rouge. *Briff.* 1. 236.GUERNSEY PARTRIDGE. *Latham.* 2. 768.An? Varietas rufæ, quærit *Linnaeus*.T. Perdix. *Lin.* 276.Perdrix grise. Cinerea. *Briff.* 1. 219.COMMON PARTRIDGE. *Br. Zool.* N° 274.T. Coturnix. *Lin.* 278.La Caille. Coturnix. *Briff.* 1. 247.The QUAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 97.

ORDO VI. PASSERES. PASSERINE.

COLUMBA. *Lin.* 279. PIGEON.C. Oenas. *Lin.* 279.Le Pigeon Sauvage. Oenas f. Vinago. *Briff.* 1. 86.COMMON WILD PIGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 101. t. 45.C. Palumbus. *Lin.* 282.Le Pigeon ramier. Palumbus. *Briff.* 1. 89.RING DOVE. *Br. Zool.* N° 102.

C. Turtur.

C. Turtur. *Lin.* 284.La Tourterelle. Turtur. *Briff.* 1. 92.TURTLE DOVE. *Latbam.* 2. 644.ALAUDA. *Lin.* 287. LARK.A. Arvensis. *Lin.* 287.L'Alouette. Alauda. *Briff.* 3. 335.SKY-LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 136. t. 35.A. Pratensis. *Lin.* 287.L'Alouette de pres. Forlouse. A. Pratensis. *Briff.* 3. 343.TIT-LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 138.A. Arborea. *Lin.* 287.L'Alouette de Bois. A. arborea. *Briff.* 3. 340. t. 20. f. 1.WOOD-LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 137.A. Campestris. *Lin.* 288.Alouette de Champs. A. campestris. *Briff.* 3. 349.MEADOW LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 378.A.*Cristata? *Lin.* 288.L'Alouette hupée, ou le Cochevis. A. cristata. *Briff.* 3. 357.CRESTED LARK. *Latbam.* 2. 389.A. Trivialis. *Lin.* 288.L'Alouette de Buison. A. sepiaria. *Briff.* 3. 347.GRASSHOPPER LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 156. huc spectat.A. Curruca grisea nævia. La Fauvette grise tachetée. *Briff. Suppl.* 112. t. 5. f. 2.Alauda minima Locustæ voce. Locustella. D. Johnson. *Raii. Av.* p. 70. N° 7. *Latbam.* 2. 429.STURNUS. *Lin.* 290. STARLING.S. Vulgaris. *Lin.* 290.L'Etourneau. Sturnus. *Briff.* 2. 439.The STARLING. *Br. Zool.* N° 104. t. 46.S. Cinclus. *Lin.* 290.Le Merle d'eau, ou Merle aquatique. Merula aquatica. *Briff.* 5. 252.WATER OUSEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 111.

Very common.

TURDUS. *Lin.* 291. THRUSH.T. Viscivorus. *Lin.* 291.La grosse Grive. T. Major. *Briff.* 2. 200.MISSEL THRUSH. *Br. Zool.* N° 105.

T. Pilaris.

- T. *Pilaris*. *Lin.* 291.
 La Litorne, ou Tourdelle. *Pilaris* f. *Turdula*. *Briff.* 2. 214.
 The FIELD FARE. *Br. Zool.* N° 106.
- T. *Iliacus*. *Lin.* 292.
 Le Mauvis. T. *Iliacus*. *Briff.* 2. 208. t. 20. f. 1.
 RED-WINGED THRUSH. *Br. Zool.* N° 108.
- T. *Muficus*. *Lin.* 292.
 La petite Grive. T. *Minor*. *Briff.* 2. 205.
 The THRÖSTLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 107.
- T. *Saxatilis*. *Lin.* 294.
 Le Merle de Roche, ou Moineau solitaire, of the Swiss. Briffon's
 bird is the same with the *Lanius infaustus*. *Lin.* 138.
 ROCK SHRIKE. *Latham.* 1. 176.—Rare.
- T. **Roseus*. *Lin.* 294.
 Merle couleur de Rose. *Merula rosea*. *Briff.* 2. 250.
 ROSE-COLOURED OUSEL. *Latham.* 2. 50. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 627.
 t. 5.—Very rare.
- T. *Merula*. *Lin.* 295.
 Le Merle. *Merula*. *Briff.* 2. 227.
 BLACK BIRD. *Br. Zool.* N° 109. t. 47.
- T. *Torquatus*. *Lin.* 296.
 Le Merle à collier. M. *torquata*. *Briff.* 2. 235.
 RING OUSEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 100. t. 46.
 Common on the mountains.
- T. **Arundinaceus*. *Lin.* 296.
 La Roufférolle, ou Roucherolle. T. *arundinaceus*. *Briff.* 2. 219.
 t. 22. f. 1.
 REED THRUSH. *Latham.* 2. 32.

AMPELIS. *Lin.* 297. CHATTERER.

- A. *Garrulus*. *Lin.* 297.
 Le Jasseur de Bohême. *Bombicilla bohemica*. *Briff.* 2. 333.
 WAXEN CHATTERER. *Br. Zool.* N° 112. t. 48.
 Very common at uncertain periods.

LOXIA. *Lin.* 299. GROSSBEAK.

- L. *Curvirostra*. *Lin.* 299.
 Le Bec croiffé. *Loxia*. *Briff.* 3. 329. t. 17. f. 3.
 CROSS-BILLED GROSSBEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 115. t. 49.
- L. *Coccothraustes*. *Lin.* 299.
 Le Grosbec. *Coccothraustes*. *Briff.* 3. 219.
 HAW GROSSBEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 113.

L. *Pyrrhula*.

- L. Pyrrhula. *Lin.* 300.
 Le Bouvreuil. Pyrrhula. *Briff.* 3. 308.
 The BULL-FINCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 116.

- L. Chloris. *Lin.* 304.
 Le Verdier. Chloris. *Briff.* 3. 190.
 GREEN GROSSBEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 117.

EMBERIZA. *Lin.* 308. BUNTING.

- E. Miliaria. *Lin.* 308.
 Le Proyer. Cynchramus. *Briff.* 3. 292.
 COMMON BUNTING. *Br. Zool.* N° 118.

- E.*Hortulanus. *Lin.* 309.
 L'Ortolan. Hortulanus. *Briff.* 3. 269.
 The ORTOLAN. *Latham.* 2. 166. *Arch. Zool.* p. 367.

- E. Citrinella. *Lin.* 310.
 Le Bruant. Citrinella. *Briff.* 3. 258.
 YELLOW BUNTING. *Br. Zool.* N° 119. t. 50.

- E. Cia. *Lin.* 310.
 Le Bruant de pres. E. pratensis. *Briff.* 3. 266.
 MEADOW BUNTING, or FOOLISH BUNTING. *Latham.* 2. 191.

- E. Cirrus. *Lin.* 311.
 Le Bruant de Haye. E. sepiaria. *Briff.* 3. 263.
 CIRL BUNTING. *Latham.* 2. 190.

- E. Schoeniclus. *Lin.* 311.
 L'Ortolan de Roseaux. Hortulanus Arundinaceus. *Briff.* 3. 274.
 REED BUNTING. *Br. Zool.* N° 120.

FRINGILLA. *Lin.* 317. CHAFFINCH.

- F. Cælebs. *Lin.* 318.
 Le Pinçon. Fringilla. *Briff.* 3. 148.
 COMMON CHAFFINCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 125.

- F. Montefringilla. *Lin.* 318.
 Le Pinçon d'Ardennes. Montifringilla. *Briff.* 3. 155.
 The BRAMBLING. *Br. Zool.* N° 126.

- F. Carduelis. *Lin.* 318.
 Le Chardonneret. Carduelis. *Briff.* 3. 53.
 The GOLDFINCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 124.

- F. Serinus. *Lin.* 320.
 Le Serin. Serinus. *Briff.* 3. 179.
 The SERIN FINCH. *Latham.* 2. 296.

- F. Citrinella. *Lin.* 320.
 Le Serin d'Italie. *Serinus Italicus.* *Briff.* 3. 182.
 The CITRIL FINCH. *Latham.* 2. 297.
 Common in Switzerland.
- F. Spinus. *Lin.* 322.
 Le Tarin. *Ligurinus.* *Briff.* 3. 65.
 The SISKIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 129. t. 53.
- F. Cannabina. *Lin.* 322.
 La grande Linotte de Vignes. *Linaria rubra major.* *Briff.* 3. 135.
 RED-HEADED LINNET. *Br. Zool.* N° 131. t. 54.
- F. Linaria. La Linotte. *Linaria.* *Briff.* 3. 131.
 The LINNET. *Br. Zool.* N° 130. *Latham.* 2. p. 302.
- F. Linaria. *Lin.* 320.
 La petite Linotte de Vignes. *L. rubra minor.* *Briff.* 3. 138.
 LESSER RED-HEADED LINNET, or RED POLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 132.
 t. 54.
- F. *Linaria minima. Le Cabaret. *Briff.* 3. 142.
 The TWITE. *Latham.* 2. 307. *Br. Zool.* N° 133?
- F. Petronia. *Lin.* 322.
 Le Moineau de Bois. *Passer sylvestris.* *Briff.* 3. 88. t. 5. f. 1.
 RING SPARROW. *Latham.* 2. 254.
- F. Montana. *Lin.* 324.
 Le Moineau de Montagne. *Passer Montanus.* *Briff.* 3. 79.
 TREE SPARROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 128. t. 52.
- F. Domestica. *Lin.* 323.
 Le Moineau. *P. domesticus.* *Briff.* 3. 72.
 The HOUSE SPARROW, *Br. Zool.* N° 127. t. 51.
- F. Nivalis. *Lin.* 321.
 La Niverolle. *Passer nivalis.* *Briff.* 3. 162. t. 15. f. 2.
 SNOW FINCH, *Latham.* 2. 264.
- MUSCICAPA, *Lin.* 324. FLY-CATCHER.
- M. Atricapilla, *Lin.* 326.
 Le Gobe-mouche noir, *M. nigra.* *Briff.* 2. 381.
 PIED FLY-CATCHER. *Br. Zool.* N° 135.
 Very common.
- MOTACILLA, *Lin.* 328. WARBLER.
- M. Luscinia. *Lin.* 328.
 Le Rossignol. *Luscinia.* *Briff.* 3. 397.
 The NIGHTINGALE. *Br. Zool.* N° 145.

M. Modularis.

- M. Modularis.* *Lin.* 329.
 La Fauvette de Haye, ou Passe-buse. *Curruca sepiaria.* *Briff.* 3. 394.
 HEDGE SPARROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 150.
- M. Curruca.* *Lin.* 329.
 La Favette babillarde. *Curruca Garrula.* *Briff.* 3. 384.
 BABBLING WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 417.
- M. Hippolais.* *Lin.* 330.
 La Fauvette. *Curruca.* *Briff.* 3. 372.
 PETTY-CHAPS. *Br. Zool.* N° 149.
- M. Salicaria.* *Lin.* 330.
 La Fauvette de Roseaux. *Curruca Arundinacea.* *Briff.* 3. 378.
 SEDGE BIRD. *Br. Zool.* N° 155. t. 52.
- M. Sylvia.* *Lin.* 330.
 La Fauvette grise, ou la Grifette. *Curruca cinerea* f. *cineraria.*
Briff. 3. 376.
 WHITE THROAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 160. *Latham.* 2. 428.
- M. Alpina.* La Fauvette des Alpes. *Buffon. Pl. Enlum.* 668. f. 2.
 ALPINE WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 434.
 Frequent on the higher mountains, and alpine situations.
- M. Alba.* *Lin.* 331.
 La Lavandière. *Motacilla.* *Briff.* 3. 461.
 WHITE WAGTAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 142. t. 55.
- M. Flava.* *Lin.* 331.
 La Bergeronette du Printems. *M. Verna.* *Briff.* 3. 468.
 YELLOW WAGTAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 143. t. 55.
- M. Boarola.* *Lin. Mant.* p. 527.
 La Bergeronette jaune. *M. flava.* *Briff.* 3. 471. t. 23. f. 3.
 GREY WAGTAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 144.
- M. Cinerea.* La Bergeronette grise. *Briff.* 3. 465. t. 25. f. 1.
 CINEREOUS WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 397.
- M. Oenanthe.* *Lin.* 332.
 Le Cul Blanc, ou Vitrec. *Vitiflora.* *Briff.* 3. 449.
 WHEAT EAR. *Br. Zool.* N° 157.
- M. Rubetra.* *Lin.* 332.
 Le grand Traquet, ou le Tarrier. *Rubetra major* f. *Rubicola.*
Briff. 3. 432. t. 24. f. 1.
 WHIN-CHAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 158.
- M. Rubicola.* *Lin.* 332.
 Le Traquet. *Rubetra.* *Briff.* 3. 428. t. 23. f. 1.
 STONE-CHATTER. *Br. Zool.* N° 159.
- M. Aticapilla.* *Lin.* 332.

- La Fauvette à tête noir. *Atricapilla*. *Briff.* 3. 380.
 BLACK-CAP. *Br. Zool.* N° 148.
- M. *Phænicurus*. *Lin.* 335.
 Le Rossignol de Muraille. *Ruticilla*. *Briff.* 3. 403.
 RED-START. *Br. Zool.* N° 146.
- M. *Erithacus*. *Lin.* 335.
 Le Rouge queue. *Phænicurus*. *Briff.* 3. 409.
 RED-TAILED WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 425.
- M. *Suecica*. *Lin.* 336.
 La Gorge bleue. *Cyanecula*. *Briff.* 3. 413.
 BLUE-THROATED WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 444. *Arct. Zool.* p. 417.
- M. *Rubecula*. *Lin.* 337.
 La Rouge-gorge. *Rubecula*. *Briff.* 3. 418.
 RED-BREAST. *Br. Zool.* N° 147.
- M. *Troglodytes*. *Lin.* 337.
 Le Roitelet. *Regulus*. *Briff.* 3. 428.
 The WREN. *Br. Zool.* N° 154.
- M. *Regulus*. *Lin.* 338.
 Le Poul, ou Soucy. *Calendula*. *Briff.* 3. 579.
 GOLDEN-CRESTED WREN. *Br. Zool.* N° 153.
- M. *Trochilus*. *Lin.* 338.
 Le Pouillot, ou Chantre. *Afilus*. *Briff.* 3. 479.
 YELLOW WREN. *Br. Zool.* N° 151.
 β. Le grand Pouillot. *Briff.* 3. 482. A. *Latham.* 2. 514.

PARUS. *Lin.* 340. TITMOUSE.

- P. *Cristatus*. *Lin.* 340.
 Le Mésange hupée. *P. cristatus*. *Briff.* 3. 558.
 CRESTED TITMOUSE. *Latham.* 2. 545. *Arct. Zool.* p. 427.
- P. *Major*. *Lin.* 341.
 La grosse Mésange, ou La Charbonnière. *Fringillago*. *Briff.* 3. 539.
 GREAT TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 162. t. 57.
- P. *Cæruleus*. *Lin.* 341.
 La Mésange bleue. *P. cæruleus*. *Briff.* 3. 544.
 BLUE TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 163. t. 57.
- P. *Ater*. *Lin.* 341.
 La Mésange à tête noir. *P. atricapillus*. *Briff.* 3. 551.
 COLEMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 164. t. 57.

P. *Palustris*.

P. Palustris. *Lin.* 341.

La Mésange de Marais, ou La Nonette cendrée. P. palustris. *Briff.* 3. 555.

BLACK-CAP, or MARSH TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 165. t. 57.

P. Caudatus. *Lin.* 341.

La Mésange à longue queue. P. longicaudatus. *Briff.* 3. 570.

LONG-TAILED TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 166.

P.*Biarmicus. *Lin.* 342.

La Mésange barbue, ou Le Mouftache. P. barbatus. *Briff.* 3. 567.

HIRUNDO. *Lin.* 343. SWALLOW.

H. Rustica. *Lin.* 343.

Le Hirondelle de Cheminée. H. domestica. *Briff.* 2. 486.

CHIMNEY SWALLOW. *Br. Zool.* N° 168. t. 58.

H. Urbica. *Lin.* 344.

Le Martinet à cul blanc. H. minor, f. rustica. *Briff.* 2. 490.

The MARTIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 169.

H. Riparia. *Lin.* 344.

L'Hirondelle de Rivage. H. riparia, five Drepanis. *Briff.* 2. 506.

SAND MARTIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 170.

H. Apus. *Lin.* 344.

Le Martinet. H. Apos. *Briff.* 2. 512.

The SWIFT. *Br. Zool.* N° 171. t. 58.

H. Melba. *Lin.* 345.

La grande Hirondelle d'Espagne. H. major Hispanica. *Briff.* 2. 504.

WHITE-BELLIED SWIFT. *Latham.* 2. 586. *Edw.* t. 27.

CAPRIMULGUS. *Lin.* 346. GOATSUCKER.

C. Europæus. *Lin.* 346.

La tete-chevre, ou Crapaud volant. Caprimulgus. *Briff.* 2. 470. t. 44.

NOCTURNAL GOAT-SUCKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 170. t. 59.

CLASS

CLASS III.

A M P H I B I A.

ORDO I. REPTILES.

RANA. *Lin.* 354.R. Bufo. *Lin.* 354.Rubeta five Phrymum. *Gef. aquat.* p. 807. Le Craupaud.The TOAD. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 4.R. Rubeta. *Lin.* 355.NATTER JACK. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 5.R. Bombina. *Lin.* 355.

BLACK-BACKED FROG.

R. Temporaria. *Lin.* 357.Aquatica innoxia. *Gef. Quad. ovip.* p. 46. *aquat.* p. 805.COMMON FROG. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 2.R. Verrucosa. Dorso subangulato, palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis tuberculatis. *Nova Species.*It very much resembles the foregoing. It was discovered in the *Pais de Vaud* by Count Razomoffsky, who will describe it particularly in his *Histoire Naturelle de Jorat*: a work which will very soon appear.R. Esculenta. *Lin.* 357.Rana five Rubeta gibbosa. *Gef. Quad. ovip.* p. 63. *aquat.* 4. 5. p. 809.EDIBLE FROG. *Br. Zool.* N° 3.R. Arborea. *Lin.* 357.Ranunculus viridis. f. Rana Calamite aut Dryopeta. *Gef. Quad. ovip.* 60. *aquat.* 800.TREE FROG. *La Raine Grenouille de St. Martin.*LACERTA. *Lin.* 359.L. Agilis. *Lin.* 363. *Le Sautteur.*

The EFT, or SWIFT.

L. *Varia.* Cauda verticillata longa, subter lutea, supra viridi cinerea, ex nigro, albo, cæruleoque varia. *Nova.*Nearly allied to the *agilis*, and will be described also in the above-mentioned work by Count Razomoffsky.L. Vulgaris. *Lin.* 370.Lacerta vulgaris. *Raii Quad.* 264.*Salamandre de Terre.* Brown Lizard. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 9.

The NEWT.

L. Aquatica.

L. Aquatica. *Lin.* 370.
 Lacertus Aquaticus. *Gef. ovip.* 31.
Salamandre d' Eau.

L. Palustris. *Lin.* 370.
 Salamandra aquatica. *Raii Quad.* 273.
 The WATER EFT, or NEWT.

L. Salamandra. *Lin.* 371.
 Salamandra. *Gef. Quad. ovip.* 80.
Salamandre fluviine.

ORDO II. SERPENTES.

COLUBER. *Lin.* 375.

C. Berus. *Lin.* 377.
 Vipera. *Gefn. Serp.* p. 124. *Raii Quad.* 285.
La Vipere ordinaire.
 The VIPER. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 12. t. 4.

C. Natrix. *Lin.* 380.
 Natrix torquata. *Gefn. Serp.* 110. *Raii Quad.* p. 334.
Couleuvre à Collier.
 The SNAKE. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 13. t. 4.

ANGUIS. *Lin.* 390.

A. Fragilis. *Lin.* 392.
 Cæcilia f. Typhlops. *Gefn. Serp.* 60. *Raii Quad.* 289.
Orvert.
 The BLINDWORM. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 36. t. 4.

ORDO III. NANTES.

PETROMYZON. *Lin.* 394. LAMPREY.

P. Marinus. *Lin.* 394. Lampret Meerneurauge.
 Lampetra. *Raii Pisc.* p. 35.
 SEA LAMPREY. *Br. Zool.* vol. 3. N° 27. t. 8.
 Comes up the Rhine as high as Basse; sometimes higher, but not frequently.

P. Fluvialis. *Lin.* 394. Das Neunauge. Ger. Perce Pierre. Lamprillon. *Fr.*
 Lampetræ medium Genus. *Ray.* p. 35.
 LESSER LAMPREY. *Br. Zool.* N° 28. t. 8.
 Sometimes caught in the Rhine. In the lake of Neuchatel. Mr. Van Berchem.

B. Branchialis.

- P. Branchialis. *Lin.* 394. Der *Querder*.
 Lampetra parva et fluviatilis. *Ray.* 35.
 PRIDE LAMPREY. *Br. Zool.* N° 29. t. 8.
 In rivers and brooks not infrequently.

ACIPENSER. *Lin.* 403. STURGEON.

- A. Sturio. *Lin.* 403. Der *Stoer*.
 Sturio. *Ray.* 112.
 The STURGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 53. t. 19.
 It has sometimes reached up the Rhine as high as Basse, but rarely.

CLASS IV.

PISCES.

ORDO I. APODES. APODAL.

MURÆNA. *Lin.* 425. EEL.

- M. Anguilla. *Lin.* 426. Der *Aal*. Ger. L'Anguille. *Fr.*
 Anguilla. *Ray.* 37.
 The EEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 53.
 Common in almost all the lakes. In the lake of Neuchatel. Mr.
 V. Berchem.

ORDO II. JUGULARES. JUGULAR.

GADUS. *Lin.* 435. CODFISH.

- G. Lota. *Lin.* 440. Die *Quappe*. *Treischen*. *Aalraupe*. Ger. Lotte. *Fr.*
 Mustela fluviatilis. *Ray.* 67.
 The BURBOT. *Br. Zool.* N° 86.
 Very common in the lakes, and sometimes grows to the weight
 of eighteen pounds. Lake of Neuchatel.

ORDO III. THORACICI. THORACIC.

COTTUS. *Lin.* 451. BULL-HEAD.

- C. Gobio. *Lin.* 452. Der *Kaulkopf Gropp*. Ger. Chassot. *Fr.*
 Gobius fluviatilis. *Ray.* 76.
 RIVER BULL-HEAD. *Br. Zool.* N° 97. t. 39.
 In the rivers and brooks, very common. Lake of Neuchatel. B.

PERCA.

PERCA. *Lin.* 481. PERCH.

- P. Fluviatilis. *Lin.* 481. *Der Barsch. Egli. Ger. Perche. Fr.*
Perca fluviatilis. Ray. 97.
 The PERCH. *Br. Zool. N° 124. t. 48.*
 In the lake of Neuchatel.

GASTEROSTEUS. *Lin.* 489. STICKLEBACK.

- G. Aculeatus. *Lin.* 489. *Der Stichbling.*
Pisciculus aculeatus. Ray. 145.
 THREE-SPINED STICKLEBACK. *Br. Zool. N° 129. t. 50.*
 G. Pungitius. *Lin.* 491.
P. aculeatus minor. Ray. 145.
 TEN-SPINED STICKLEBACK. *Br. Zool. N° 130. t. 50.*
 Both these common in the brooks and rivulets.

ORDO IV. ABDOMINALES. ABDOMINAL.

COBITIS. *Lin.* 499. LOACH.

- C. Barbatula. *Lin.* 499. *Die Schmerk.*
Cobitis fluviatilis barbatula. Ray. 124.
 BEARDED LOACH. *Br. Zool. N° 142. t. 58.*
 Common in all the brooks.
 C. Tænia. *Lin.* 499. *Der Steinpizger.*
C. barbatula aculeata. Ray. 124.
 The SMERLIN LOACH.
 C. Fossilis. *Lin.* 500. *Der Schlampizger. Meergrunde.*
Misgurn seu Fisgurn, Piscis Lampetiformis. Ray. 70.
 LAMPREY LOACH. *Phil. Transf. vol. 44. p. 451. t. 2. f. 1.*
 In the Rhine.

SILURUS. *Lin.* 501. SHEAT-FISH.

- S. Glanis. *Lin.* 501. *Der Wells. Ger. Le Salut. Fr.*
Silurus. Ray. p. 70.
 The SHEAT-FISH.
 In some of the lakes of Switzerland. In that of Neuchatel.

SALMO. *Lin.* 509. SALMON.

- S. Salar. *Lin.* 509. *Der Lachs. Le Saulmon. Fr.*
Salmo. Ray. 63. In the spring it is called Dalm.
 The SALMON. *Br. Zool. N° 143. t. 58.*
 It comes up the Rhine into the rivers of Switzerland in the spring,
 and is taken in large quantities at Basle.
 S. Trutta. *Lin.* 509. *Truitte. Fr.*
Trutta Salmonata. Ray. 63.

- Salmon Trout. SEA TROUT. *Br. Zool.* N° 145.
In the lake of Neuchatel. *M. Berchem.*
- S. Lacustris. *Lin.* 510. *Der Rhein-oder Ilanken.*
Trutta lacustris magna. Gesn. Pisc. p. 1003. Ray. p. 64. sub N° 4.
LAKE SALMON.
Common in the lakes; sometimes weighing sixty pounds.
- S. Fario. *Lin.* 509. *Die Bachforelle.*
Trutta fluviatilis. Ray. 65.
The TROUT. *Br. Zool.* N° 146. t. 59.
In almost all the rivers, brooks, and torrents.
- S. Umbla. *Lin.* 511. *Der Ritter. Ger. L'Ombre chevalier. Fr.*
Umbla prior. Ray. 64.
The UMBLE.
In the lake of Geneva it grows to twenty pounds weight and upwards. In the lake of Neuchatel.
- S. Alpinus. *Lin.* 510. *Das Roteli.*
Umbla minor. Ray. 65.
The CHARR. *Br. Zool.* N° 149. t. 60.
Common in the lakes: that of the lake Zug excels in flavour. In the lake of Neuchatel.
- S. Thymallus. *Lin.* 512. *Die Aesche. Ger. Ombre. Fr.*
Thymallus. Ray. 62.
The GRAYLING. *Br. Zool.* N° 150. t. 61.
- S. Lavarettus. *Lin.* 512. *La Pallée. Fr.*
Lavarettus Allobrogum. Ray. 61.
The GWINIAD. *Br. Zool.* N° 152. t. 62.
Linnæus comprehends several varieties under this species. I am as yet uncertain whether the following are specifically different or not. In the lake of Neuchatel.
- α. *Adelfelch.* In the lake of Constance.
β. *Der Gangfisch.* In the same lake.
γ. *Albula cærulea. Blauling. Allbok.*
- S. Albula. *Lin.* 512. *Hagling.*
Albula minima. Ray. 61. Gesn. Pisc. p. 34.
The HERRING SALMON.

ESOX. *Lin.* 515. PIKE.

- Esox Lucius. *Lin.* 516. *Der Hecht. Ger. Brochette. Fr.*
Lucius. Ray. 12.
The PIKE. *Br. Zool.* N° 153. t. 63.
Very common. In the lakes of Zug and Geneva they grow to
fifty

fifty pounds; and in that of Zurich an instance occurred of one that weighed seventy pounds. The best are caught in the lake of Joux. In the lake of Neuchatel. B.

CYPRINUS. *Lin.* 525. CARP.

- C. Carpio. *Lin.* 525. *Die Karpfe.* Ger. Carpe. *Fr.*

Cyprinus. *Ray.* 115.

The CARP. *Br. Zool.* N° 165. t. 70.

Common in the lake of Zug, where they reach the weight of from fifty to seventy pounds. In the lake of Neuchatel.

- C. Barbus. *Lin.* 528. *Die Barbe.* Ger. Barbiau. *Fr.*

Barbus. *Ray.* 121.

The BARBEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 166. t. 71.

Frequent in the rivers of Switzerland. At Zurich they are taken from ten to twelve pounds weight. In the lake of Neuchatel.

- C. Gobio. *Lin.* 526. *Der Grundling.* Ger. Gougeon. *Fr.*

Gobius fluviatilis Gefneri. *Ray.* 123.

The GUDGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 168.

Plentiful in the lakes and rivers; but not much esteemed at the table. In the lake of Neuchatel.

- C. Tinca. *Lin.* 526. *Die Schleye.* Ger. Tanche. *Fr.*

Tinca. *Ray.* 117.

The TENCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 167.

Common in the lakes. In that of Geneva they are caught of three pounds weight. In that of Neuchatel.

- C. Cephalus. *Lin.* 527. *Der Aland.* Ger. Chevenore. *Fr.*

Capito five Cephalus. *Ray.* 119.

The CHUB. *Br. Zool.* N° 175. t. 73.

In many of the rivers and lakes of Switzerland. In the lake of Neuchatel. M. Van Berchem.

- C. Nafus. *Lin.* 530. *Die Nase.* Ger. Nazoz. *Fr.*

Nafus Alberti. *Ray.* 119.

The NASE.

So plentiful in the rivers, that in the month of April sometimes an hundred thousand have been caught in the Birs. In the lake of Neuchatel.

- C. Brama. *Lin.* 531. *Der Bley.*

Cyprinus latus five Brama. *Ray.* 116.

The BREAM. *Br. Zool.* N° 169. t. 70.

- C. Ballerus. *Lin.* 532. *Die Guster.*

Ballerus. *Ray.* 117.

The BREAM BLEAK, or BALLER.

Common in the lakes.

C. Dobula. *Lin.* 528. *Der Doebele*.

Mugilis vel Cephalo fluviatilis Species minor. *Ray.* 122.

The HASLER.—Frequent in the rivers.

C. Leuciscus. *Lin.* 528. *Der Lauben*.

Leuciscus. *Ray.* 121.

The DACE. *Br. Zool.* N° 173.—Common in the lakes.

C. Grislagine. *Lin.* 529.

Grislagine Angustæ dictus Gobii fluviatilis Species. *Ray.* 123.

Gressling. *Germ.* Vaugeron. *Fr.*

In the lake of Neuchatel. *M. Berchem.*

C. Rutilus. *Lin.* 529. *Das Rothauge.* *Ger.* Rotte. *Fr.*

Rutilus f. Rubellus fluviatilis. *Ray.* 122.

The ROACH. *Br. Zool.* N° 172. figure in frontispiece.

Plentiful both in the lakes and rivers. In the lake of Neuchatel.

C. Alburnus. *Lin.* 531. *Der Ukeley.* *Weis-fisch.* *Ger.* Able. *Fr.*

Alburnus Aufonii. *Ray.* 123.

The BLEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 176. t. 73.

This is among the most common of all our fishes.

C. Bipunctatus. *Die Alandbleke.* *Bloch.* tab. 8. f. a. bené.

C. Erythrophthalmus. *Lin.* 530. *Die Ulgete.* *Bloch.* tab. 1.

Rutilus latior, f. Rubellio fluviatilis. *Ray.* 118.

The RUD. *Br. Zool.* N° 170. t. 72.

Common in the rivers.

C. Phoxinus. *Lin.* 528. *Die Elrize.* *Bambele.*

Varius seu Phoxinus lævis. *Ray.* 125.

The MINNOW, or PINK. *Br. Zool.* N° 177. t. 5. f. 6.

Frequent in the rivers and brooks.

To the three following fishes Mr. Van *Berchem* has not yet been able to affix the synonyms.

Boudelles.

Cormontant.

Zizes.*

CLASS

* Class V. Insecta, is omitted in this Faunula; first, on account of its magnitude; and secondly, because I can furnish the entomologist with no other information than what is contained in books. I would refer the curious reader to Johann Caspar Fueslin's *Verzeichniss der ihm bekannten Schweizerischen Insekten*. Zurich 1775, large quarto, with a copper-plate; or John Gaspar Fuesli's Catalogue of the Swiss Insects. This Catalogue makes mention of 1200 species, classed in 152 genera; scarcely half of the insects which are known to be natives of Switzerland. Wherever it is possible, the German name is mentioned;

CLASS VI.

VERMES.

ORDO III. TESTACEA.

UNIVALVIA.

HELIX. MULLER. Vermium. Gen. 23. vol. ii. p. 12.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis quatuor linearibus;
oculis apice majorum.

H. ChrySTALLINA. MULLER. N° 223. Chrystal Snail.

H. LAPICIDA. MULL. 240. LIN. Syst. Nat. N° 656. LIST. Syn. t. 69.
f. 68.

La Lampe. Fr. Die Lampe. Ger. Lamp Snail. DA COS-
TA. Br. Conch. p. 55. t. 4. f. 9. PEN. Zool. t. 83.
f. 121.

H. ROTUNDATA. MULL. 231. ARGEN. Conch. 2. t. 9. f. 10.

Le Bouton. Fr. Der Knopf. Ger. The Button Snail.

H. MINUTA. A new species.

H. ISOGNOMOSTOMOS. SCHROETER. 2. p. 194.

H. OBVOLUTA. MULL. 229. GUALT. test. t. 2. f. 5.

La Veloutée à bouche triangulaire. Fr. Die Sammet
Schnecke mit Dreyeckigtem munde. Ger. Triangular-
mouthed Snail.

H. COSTATA. MULL. 233. Serpentiuli exigui. BERLIN. Mag? 4. B?
Ribbed Snail.

H. PULCHELLA. MULL. 232. GEOFR. Conch. 6.

La petite Striée. Fr. Die Kleine gestreifte Schnecke. Ger.
Small White Snail.

H. NITIDA. MULL. 234. PETIV. Gaz. t. 93. f. 14. ARG. t. 28. 4.

La Luisante. Fr. Die glänzende Wiesen. Ger. Shining Snail.

tioned; the place in which it was found; and if it is rare. Since this publication the author has collected various observations and additions, which are given in his *Entomologischen Magazine*; or Entomological Magazine. The deficiency of this work is in a great measure supplied by Joh. Henrick Sultzer's *Abgekurtzte Geschichte der Insekten, nach dem Linnæischen System*. Winterthur, 1776, 2 vols. large 4to. with many coloured engravings of insects; or an abridged Account of Insects according to the Linnæan System, by Henry Sultzer. This work chiefly enumerates the Swiss Insects, described by Sultzer, and engraved and coloured by Fuefsh; and contains many curious and instructive observations. The learned Author is a physician of Winterthur.

H. Villosa.

- H. Villosa. A new species.
- H. Ericetorum. MULL. 236. *δ*. Alba fascus novem. GUALT. t. 2. L.
Le Ruban plat. *Fr.* Der groſſe Bund. *Ger.* Heath Snail.
- H. Striatula. MULL. A new species. Not the Striatula of Muller,
p. 24.
- H. Hispida. MULL. 268. LIN. *Syst.* 675. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 12.
La Veloutée. Die Samtschneke. *Ger.* Bristly Snail. DA
COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 58. t. 5. f. 10.
- H. Succinea. A new species. Not the Succinea of Muller, p. 97.
- H. Incarnata. MULL. 259. SCHROETER, p. 174. t. 2. f. 18. Carna-
tion-mouthed Snail.
- H. Fruticum. MULL. 267. SCHROETER, p. 178. t. 2. f. 19. Bush
Snail.
- H. Hortensis. MULL. 247. Garden Snail.
- H. Nemoralis. MULL. 246. LIN. *Syst.* 691. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 3.
La Livrée. *Fr.* Die Waldschneke. *Ger.* Wood Snail. DA
COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 76. t. 5. f. 1.—8. 14. 19. PENN.
Zool. N° 131.
- H. Montana. A new species.
- H. Arbustorum. MULL. 248. LIN. *Syst.* 680. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 4.
Hedge Snail. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 75. t. 17. f. 6. PENN.
Zool. N° 130. t. 85.
- H. Asperfa. MULL. 253. ARG. I. t. 28. f. 11.
Le Jardinier. *Fr.* Die Gartenschneke. *Ger.* Speckled
Snail.
- H. Pomatia. MULL. 243. LIN. *Syst.* 677.
Le Vigneron. *Fr.* Die Weinbergs Schneke. *Ger.* Edible
Snail. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 67. t. 4. f. 14. PENN.
Zool. N° 128. t. 84.
- H. Fulva. MULL. 249. Topaz Snail.
- H. Sericea. MULL. 258. Silky Snail.
- H. Aculeata. MULL. 279. Prickly Snail.
- H. Rupestris. A new species.
- H. Muscorum. MULL. 304. LIN. *Syst.* 651. Turbo Muscorum.
Le petit Barillet. *Fr.* Das Kleine Faschen. *Ger.* LIST. *Ang.*
t. 2. f. 6. Moss Snail. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 89.
t. 5. f. 16. PENN. *Zool.* t. 82. N° 118.

H. Coronata.

- H. Coronata. Geoffroy. Par. N° 19.
Le grand Barillet. *Fr.* Das grosse Fasschen. *Ger.* Rundlet Snail.
- H. Quadridens. MULL. 306. LIST. *Syn.* t. 40. f. 38.
L'Anti Barillet. *Fr.* Das Linusgedrehte Fasschen. *Ger.* Four-toothed Snail.
- H. Cochlea. A new species.
- H. Exigua. A new species.
- H. Lubrica. MULL. 303. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 7.
La Brillante. *Fr.* Das glänzende Spitzschneke. *Ger.* Glossy Snail.
- H. Obscura. MULL. 302. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 8?
Le grain d'Orge. *Fr.* Das Gerstenkorn. *Ger.*
- H. Sylvestris. A new species.
- H. Detrita. MULL. 300. GUALT. *Test.* t. 5. N.
- H. Cylindrica. GEOFR. N° 16.
Le grain d'Avoine. *Fr.* Das Haferkorn. *Ger.* Cylindrical Snail.
- H. Bidens. MULL. 315. LIN. *Syst.* 649. LIST. *Syn.* t. 41. A.
Die glatte Erdschraube. *Ger.* Bidentated Snail. PENN. *Zool.* N° 117. t. 81. fine numero.
- H. Muscosa. A new species.
- H. Roscida. A new species.
- H. Perversa. MULL. 316. Turbo perversus. LIN. *Syst.* 650. LIST. *Ang.* t. 10. f. 10. *Syn.* t. 41. f. 39.
La Nonpareille. *Fr.* Die gestrikte Erdschraube. *Ger.* Contrary-mouthed Snail. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 107. t. 5. f. 15. PENN. *Zool.* t. 82. N° 116.
- H. Muralis. A new species.
- H. Parvula. A new species.
- H. Acicula. GEOFR. N° 21.
L'Aiguillette. *Fr.* Der Senkel die Nadel. *Ger.* Needle Snail.
- H. Pellucida. MULL. 215.
La Transparente. *Fr.* Die Durchsichtige Schneke. *Ger.* Pelucid Snail.
- H. Virescens. A new species.
- H. Impura. A new species.
- H. Putris. MULL. 296. LIN. *Syst.* 705. LIST. *Ang.* 140. t. 2. f. 24.
L'Amphibie: L'Ambrée. *Fr.* Die Beydlebig. Kahuschneke. *Ger.* Amphibious Snail. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 92. t. 5. f. 13. PENN. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 137.
- H. Elongata.

H. Elongata. New species.

H. Angusta. New species.

POMATIAS. STUDER. MS.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus linearibus, oculis ad basin externe.

P. Elegans. Nerita elegans. MULL. 363. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 5. *Syn.* t. 27. f. 25.

L'Elegante Striée. *Fr.* Die Feingestrickte Deckel-schenke.
Ger. Nerite-Pomatias.

P. Variegatus. A new species.

VERTIGO. MULLER. *Gen.* 24. p. 124.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus linearibus, apice oculatis.

V. 8-dentata. New species.

V. 5-dentata. New species.

V. 6-dentata. New species.

CARYCHIUM. MULLER. *Gen.* 25. p. 125.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus truncatis, oculis ad basin postice.

C. Minimum. MULL. 321.

ANCYLUS. MULLER. *Gen.* 30. p. 199.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis binis truncatis; oculis ad basin interne.

A. Lacustris. MULL. 385. Patella lacustris. LIN. *Syst.* 769. ARG.
I. t. 27. 1.

Ancille; Patelle. *Fr.* Die Schüffel, Napfmuſchell. *Ger.* Lake
Limpet. DA COSTA. *Conch.* p. 1. t. 2. f. 8.

A. Fluvialis. MULL. 386. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 32.

Patelle a bec. *Fr.* Die Dragonet. Mutze. *Ger.* River
Limpet.

BUCCINUM. MULLER. *Gen.* 26. p. 126.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus triangularibus, oculis
ad basin interne.

B. Papilla. Uncertain.

B. Auricula. MULL. 322. Helix Auricularia. LIN. *Syst.* 708. LIST.
Ang. t. 2. f. 23.

Le Radix. *Fr.* Die Wurzel. *Ger.* Wide-mouthed Snail;
or Buccinum. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 95. t. 5. f. 17.
PENN. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 138.

B. Fossarum. Uncertain.

B. Medium. MULL. 324?

B. Rivale. Uncertain.

B. Lacustre.

- B. Lacustre. Uncertain.
 B. Fragile. Uncertain.
 B. Albidum. Uncertain.
 B. Stagnale. MULL. 327. *Helix Stagnalis*. LIN. *Syst.* 703. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 21.
 Le grand Buccin. *Fr.* Das groÿs Spizhorn. *Ger.* Lake Buccinum; or *Helix*. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 93. t. 5. f. 11. PENN. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 136.
 B. Palustre. MULL. 326. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 22.
 Le Petit Buccinum. *Fr.* Das Kleine Spizhorn, Der Raab. Marsh Buccinum, or *Helix*.
 B. Truncatulum. MULL. 325?

PLANORBIS. MULLER. *Gen.* 27. p. 152.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis binis fetaceis, oculis ad basin interne.

- P. Turritus. MULL. 354.
 P. Bulla. MULL. 353. *Bulla fontinalis*. LIN. *Syst.* 386. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 25.
 La Bulle aquatique. *Fr.* Die Wasserblase. *Ger.* Lake Bulla, or Plane-orb. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 96. t. 5. f. 6.
 P. Contortus. MULL. 348. *Helix contorta*. LIN. *Syst.* 673. PETIV. *Gaz.* t. 92. f. 8.
 Le Petit Planorbe. *Fr.* Die Kleine Teller-schnecke. *Ger.* Lunate Plane-orb, or *Helix*.
 P. Purpura? MULL. 343. *Helix cornea*. LIN. *Syst.* 671. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 26.
 Le grand Planorbe. *Fr.* Das vertiefte Posthorn. *Ger.* Horny *Helix*, or Plane-orb. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 60. t. 4. f. 13. PENN. *Zool.* t. 83. N° 126.
 P. Albus. MULL. 350. PETIV. *Gaz.* t. 92. f. 7. Small white Plane-orb.
 P. Spirorbis. MULL. 347. *Helix Spirorbis*. LIN. *Syst.* 672. Concave Plane-orb.
 P. Nitidus. MULL. 349. BERLIN. *Magaz.* 4. B. p. 262. Shining Plane-orb.
 P. Imbricatus. MULL. 351. Turbo Nautilus. LIN. *Syst.* 654.
 Le Planorbe tuile. *Fr.* Die Ziegelformige Teller schnecke
 Ger. Imbricated Plane-orb.

- P. Tenellus. MULL. 345? Sive Vortex. Helix Vortex. LIN. *Syst.* 667? LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 28. Whirl Plane-orb. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 65. t. 4. f. 12. PENN. *Zool.* t. 83. N° 124.
- P. Complanatus. MULL. 346? five umbilicatus. Helix complantata. LIN. *Syst.* 663. Umbilicated Plane-orb An? DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 66. t. 4. f. 11.
- P. Carinatus. MULL. 344. Helix Planorbis. LIN. *Syst.* 662. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 27. Carinated Plane-orb. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 63. t. 4. f. 10. & t. 8. f. 8. PENN. *Zool.* t. 83. N° 123.

VALVATA. MULLER. *Gen.* 29. p. 198.

Vermis cochleatus, tentaculis binis fetaceis, oculis ad basin postice.

- V. Cristata. MULL. 384. Crested Valvate: or feathered Nerite.
- V. Pulchella. GEOFR. *Ner.* 4.
Le Port Plumet. *Fr.* Der Federbuschtrager. *Ger.*

NERITA. MULLER. *Gen.* 28. p. 170.

Vermis cochleatus, tentaculis binis fetaceis, oculis ad basin externe.

- N. Obtusa. MULL. 358. five Piscinalis. Obtuse Nerite.
- N. Jaculator. MULL. 372. Helix Tentaculata. LIN. *Syst.* 707. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 19.
La Petite Operculee. *Fr.* Der Thürhüter. *Ger.* Bomb Nerite, or Helix. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 91. t. 5. f. 12.
PENN. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 140.

BIVALVIA.

TELLINA. MULLER. *Gen.* 31. p. 202.

Vermis conchaceus, siphone duplici longo.

- T. Cornea. MULL. 387. LIN. *Syst.* 72. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 31.
Came de Ruiffeaux. *Fr.* Die Kleine Breitmuschel. *Ger.*
Horny Tellen. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 173. t. 13. f. 2.
PENN. *Zool.* t. 49. N° 36.
- T. Amnica. MULL. 389.
- T. Minima. A new species.

MYTILUS. MULLER. *Gen.* 32. p. 207.

Vermis conchaceus, siphone duplici brevi.

- M. Cygneus. MULL. 394. LIN. *Syst.* 257.
Le Moule d'Etang. *Fr.* Die grosse grüne Teichmuschel.
Ger. Great Pond Muscle.

M. Anatinus.

M. Anatinus. MULL. 393. LIN. *Syst.* 258. Common River Muscle.

MYA. MULLER. *Gen.* 33. p. 210.

Vermis conchaceus, siphone nullo.

M. Pictorum. MULL. 397. β . Testa elongata crassa fusca. GUALT. *test.* t. 7. E. Long Painter's Muscle.

M. Ovata. MULL. 397. γ ? Testa crassa radiata flavovirente. LIST. *Syn.* t. 146. 1. 147. 3. 147. 2. Oval Mya.

M. Rivorum. MULL. 397. α . Testa crassa rudi fusca. Mya Pictorum. LIN. *Syst.* 28. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 30. Painter's Muscle, or Mya. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 228. t. 15. f. 4. PENN. *Zool.* t. 43. f. 17.

A P P E N D I X.

N° I.

THE following Table exhibits the present order of the thirteen cantons, and the æra of their reception into the Helvetic confederacy.

The eight antient cantons.	Zuric	-	-	-	-	-	Reformed religion	1350
	Berne	-	-	-	-	-	Reformed	1352
	Lucerne	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1332
	Uri	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1315
	Schweitz	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1315
	Underwalden	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1315
	Zug	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1352
	Glarus	-	-	-	-	-	Mixed	1351
The five new cantons.	Basle	-	-	-	-	-	Reformed	1501
	Friburgh	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1481
	Soleure	-	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1481
	Schaffhausen	-	-	-	-	-	Reformed	1501
	Appenzel	-	-	-	-	-	Mixed	1513

The quota of troops to be furnished by each canton in case of war, will appear from the following distribution, which was fixed in 1668, in order to form
a con-

a confederate army of 9,600 men. The same proportion to be observed, if an augmentation of troops might be thought necessary.

Zuric	-	-	-	-	1,400
Berne	-	-	-	-	2,000
Lucerne	-	-	-	-	1,200
Uri	-	-	-	-	400
Schweitz	-	-	-	-	600
Underwalden	-	-	-	-	400
Zug	-	-	-	-	400
Glarus	-	-	-	-	400
Basle	-	-	-	-	400
Friburgh	-	-	-	-	800
Soleure	-	-	-	-	600
Schaffhausen	-	-	-	-	400
Appenzel	-	-	-	-	600
					9,600

N° 2.

I USED my utmost endeavours to render the General Map of Switzerland, which accompanies this work, as complete as possible; and as there was no accurate delineation of the whole country yet given to the public, I collected the best maps of the various parts of Switzerland, which I was able to procure. From these authorities, which are here enumerated, Messrs. Palmer and Baker compiled the present engraving; and to their merit the public is indebted for what, I hope, will be deemed the best general map of Switzerland yet extant.

1. *Carte de la Suisse Romande qui comprend le Pays de Vaud et le Gouvernement d'Aigle, dépendant du Canton de Berne, divisés en leurs Bailliages. Où l'on a distingué ceux qui appartiennent au Canton de Fribourg et ceux qui sont possédés en commun par ces deux Républiques, ainsi que les Etats et Pays adjacents. Levée Géométriquement, Sous la Permission du Souverain. Par le S. H. Mallet, Ingénieur Géographe. 1781. 4 sheets. A most excellent and correct map,*

2. *Canton*

2. *Canton Basel.* Daniel Bruckner Auctor, Emanuel Büchel Délinéavit. Gravé à Bâle, par P. L. Auvray, Parisien. Sous les Soins de M. de Mechel. 1766. A very correct map.
3. *Carte Chorographique de la partie occidentale de l'Oberland ou le Comté de Gruyères divisé en quatre Bailliages ou Gouvernements A savoir Gruyères. Sanen. Ober Sibenthal. et Nider Sibenthal. ou se Trouve le Gouvernement d'Aigle. et le Bailliage de Vevay. Avec les Frontieres de la Republique de Valais, et des Pays Circonvoisins. Observée sur les Lieux et dressée sur le Manuscrit de Samuel Loup de Rougemont. A Londres, Publié par Acte du Parlement. 1754. Tolerably correct.*
- a. *Topographische Tabelle des untern Amtes der Lucernerischen Vogtei Entlibuch Samt dem Markt zu Wolhusen begreifend die Pfarreien Entlibuch, Romos, Hasli, Dopfischwand, und Theils. Wolhusen und Malters, 1782.*
- b. *Topographische Tabelle der beiden Entlibucher-Ämter Schupfheim und Eschlimatt in Canton Lucern.*
- c. *Carte de la Partie superieure de l'Entlibuch.*
- d. *Besondere Vorstellung der ganzen Landschaft Entlibuch, samt einem Theil des benachbarten Obwalden und Brienzerlandes. These accurate maps of the small district of the Entlibuch were published at Lucerne by the Rev. M. Schneider, author of the Geschichte der Entlibucher, or History of Entlibuch.*
5. *Charte des Vier Walstätter Sees; published without date or name of place in 1785: representing the Lake of Lucerne, parts of the cantons of Schweitz and Underwalden, and of the district of Engelberg. This little map, printed with moveable types, appears to me correct.*
6. *Canton Solothurn sive Pagus Helvetiæ Solodurensis cum confinibus recenter delineatus per Gabrielem Walserum, V. D. M. edentibus Homann Heredib. Norimbergæ. 1766. C. P. S. C. M. The errors of this map, which is extremely imperfect, have been as much as possible corrected.*
7. *Route de Bale à Bienne par la Vallée de Moitier et Pierre Pertuis dans l'Eveché de Bâle. 1788. Very correct.*
8. *Nouvelle Carte du Pays de Grisons, avec ses dependances la Valteline, le Comté de Chiavenne et Bormio.*

Rætia Federata cum subditis ei terris. Amstelodami Joannis Simen. A° 1711.
 Johannes van Lugtenburg Geographi. Deline. et Sculp. During my travels through the Grisons, I found this map tolerably correct.

9. *Mappa della Linea e dei Termini di Confini tirata fra lo Stato di Milano e Dominio Ræto. 1764.* Very correct.

10. *Carta delli Baliaggii Suizzeri. di Lugano e di Mendrisio, Destà di G. Cour. Finster di Zurigo. Gravé par Clausner a Zug 1786.* In Schintz Beytraege zur naehern Kenntnifs des Schweitzerlandes.

11. *Die Landschaft-Livenen Valle Leventina J. H. Meyer del. 1784.* Clausner Sculp. in Zug. In Schintz Beytraege. Having never visited these parts delineated on these maps, I cannot pretend to assert from my own knowledge that they are exact; but have every reason to pronounce that they are not incorrect.

12. *Helvetiæ Pagi seu Cantones 13, &c. Nova Helvetiæ Tabula Geographica, &c. a Joh. Jacobo Scheuchzero Tigurino Med. D. Math. Prof. 1712.* Four sheets. For the north-eastern parts of Switzerland.

This map, although imperfect in many parts, was necessarily followed, in order to complete the whole, and particularly for the north-eastern parts, for which it is allowed to be the best map extant.

13. *Carte Topographique d'Allemagne, fait par J. W. Jaeger à Francfort sur le Mein se vend chez l'auteur avec P. de S. M. I.* In many sheets.

The whole has been corrected as much as possible from my journals, and from the observations which I made during my successive travels in Switzerland.

N° 3.

ITINERARIES

O F

Four Tours through Switzerland, in 1776, 1779, 1785, and 1786;

With the Distances marked in leagues and English miles.

IT may be necessary to apprise the traveller, that although I spared no pains in order to ascertain the respective distances, yet in many places, and particularly in the mountainous districts, it was impossible to obtain that degree of accuracy which I could have desired. For in those parts, the distances being not measured, can only be conjectured from the time employed in traversing them.

Dates.	TOUR in 1776.	Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
JULY	ENTERED Switzerland from STRASBURGH and Do- neschingen at SCHAFFHAU- SEN — — —		
20.	Lauffen — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
21.	to the Cataract — — —		
	SCHAFFHAUSEN — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
23.	Dieffenhoffen — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Stein — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to the Isle of Reichenau — — —	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
	CONSTANCE — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
24.	I. of Meinau — — —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	CONSTANCE — — —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Rosbach — — —	9	30
	by land to		
25.	ST. GALLEN — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7
	Tuffen — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
26.	Appenzel — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Oberried — — —	3	10

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
TOUR in 1776.				
JULY				
27.	Saletz	— —	3	10
	Werdenberg	—	2	6½
	Trivabach	— —	3	10
	Sargans	— —	1	3¼
28.	Wallenstadt	— —	3	10
	by water to			
	Wefen	— — —	4	13
	by land to			
29.	GLARUS	— —	2	6½
	Schwanden	— —	1½	5
	to the Panten-Bruck	—	2¾	9
30.	GLARUS	— —	4¼	14
	Bilten	— — —	2¾	9
	Sibnen	— — —	1½	5
31.	Einfidlin	— —	4¾	14
AUG. 1.	Rapperschwyl	—	4	13
	by water to			
2.	ZURIC	— — —	7½	25
	by land to			
4.	Albis	— — —	2½	8¼
	Cappel	— — —	1½	5
	ZUG	— — —	1½	5
	by water to			
	Immenfee	— —	2	6½
	by land to			
	Kuffnacht	— —	½	1½
	by water to			
5.	LUCERNE	— —	3	10
	Fluelen	— — —	8½	28
	by land to			
7.	ALTDORF	— —	½	1½
	Am Steg	— —	2½	8¼
8.	Wafen	— — —	2	6½
	Devils Bridge	—	1½	5
9.	to Spital on St. Gotthard	—	2¾	9
	Hospital	— —	2	6½
	Realp	— — —	1¾	5¾
	over the Furca	— —		

Dates.			Distances.	
	TOUR in 1776.		Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST				
	Obergestelen	— —	4½	14¾
10.	Munster	— —	1½	5
	Obergestelen	— —	1½	5
11.	Spital on the Grimsel	—	2½	8¼
	Handeck	— —	2	6½
12.	Meyringen	— —	4	13
13.	Grindelwald	— —	4½	14¾
14.	Lauterbrunnen	—	3	10
	Leifingen	— —	3	10
	Æfchi	— — —	1	3¼
16.	Frutigen	— —	2¼	7½
	Kandersteg	— —	3	10
	Winteregg	— —	2	6½
	over the Gemmi			
17.	Baths of Leuk	—	3¾	12¼
	Leuk	— — —	3	10
	Siders	— — —	3	10
	St. Leonard	— —	2	6½
19.	SION	— — —	1½	5
	Ridda	— — —	2	6½
	Martigny	— —	2½	8¼
20.	St. Maurice	— —	2¼	7½
	to Bex	— — —	1	3¼
	Martigny	— —	3¼	10½
22.	Trient	— — —	2½	8¼
	Valorsine	— —	1¾	5¾
23.	the Priory in the Valley of Chamouny		3	10
	Salenche	— —	4	13
25.	Cluse	— — —	3	10
	Bonneville	— —	3	10
	Arthas	— — —	2	6½
	Chene	— — —	2	6½
26.	GENEVA	— —	½	1½
	Verfoi	— — —	1¾	5¾
SEPT.	Copet	— — —	¾	2½
1.	Craffi	— — —	1½	5

3 Q 2

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.	TOUR in 1776.		
	Nyon — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Rolle — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Morges — — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
2.	LAUSANNE — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Lutri — — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Cuilli — — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	Vevay — — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	LAUSANNE — — —	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$12\frac{1}{4}$
	Coffonex — — —	3	10
6.	Abbaye — — —	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
	Romain-motier — — —	3	10
	Orbe — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
8.	Yverdun — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	to Clendy — — —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
	Granfon — — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	St. Aubin — — —	3	10
	Boudri — — —	$1\frac{3}{8}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$
9.	NEUCHATEL — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Vallengin — — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Chaux de Fond — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
10.	Locle — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$
11.	NEUCHATEL — — —	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$
	Tbielle — — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	Anet — — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Walperschwyyl — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	Morat — — —	4	13
13.	Avenches — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
14.	FRIBURGH — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	9
	Neunec — — —	3	10
15.	BERNE — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	9
	Worb — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Signau — — —	3	10
18.	to Langenau — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
20.	BERNE — — —	6	20
	Riederen — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Gimmenen — — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	Morat — — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Avenches — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
TOUR in 1776.					
SEPT.					
21.	Payerne	—	—	2	6½
	Marnaz	—	—	1½	5
	Moudon	—	—	2½	8½
	Montpreveires	—	—	2¾	7¾
22.	LAUSANNE	—	—	2	6½
	Morges	—	—	2¼	7½
	Rolle	—	—	2¾	9
	Nyon	—	—	2¼	7½
23.	Craffi	—	—	1¼	4
	Copet	—	—	1½	5
	Genthod	—	—	1⅛	3¾
24.	GENEVA	—	—	1⅜	4½
to AVIGNON.—Returned to					
OCT. 21.	GENEVA	—	—		
	Copet	—	—	2½	8½
	Craffi	—	—	1½	5
23.	Nyon	—	—	1¼	4
	Rolle	—	—	2¼	7½
	Morges	—	—	2¾	9
	LAUSANNE	—	—	2¼	7½
	Echalens	—	—	2⅞	9½
24.	Yverdon	—	—	3¼	10½
	Granfon	—	—	1	3¼
	St. Aubin	—	—	3	10
	Boudri	—	—	1⅜	4½
25.	NEUCHATEL	—	—	1½	5
	St. Blaise	—	—	1	3¼
	Neuville	—	—	1⅞	6¼
26.	BIENNE	—	—	3	10
	Grenché	—	—	2½	8½
27.	SOLEURE	—	—	2¼	7½
	Wietlisbach	—	—	2	6½
	Balstal	—	—	2	6½
	Waldenburgh	—	—	2½	8½
	Leichtfall	—	—	2⅞	9½
	to Augst	—	—	1¾	5¾
29.	BASLE	—	—	2	6½

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
	TOUR in 1779.		
JULY	ENTERED Switzerland from MILAN		
	COMO — — —	8	26
	Mendrisio — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	COMO — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to		
	Pliniana — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
19.	Clarice — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Domasio — — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Colico — — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to		
	Fort Fuentes — — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to		
	Riva — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to — — —		
20.	Chiavenna — — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Bondo — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Casaccia — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	to Siglio — — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
31.	to St. Morezzo — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Selva Piana — — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	Julian Columns — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	to Bivio — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	St. Morezzo — — —	$4\frac{3}{4}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$
AUGUST	Bervers — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
1.	Zutz — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
2.	Scampf — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
4.	Cernetz — — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Lavin — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$
	Ardetz — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
5.	Scuol — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Remus — — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Nauders — — —	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$
6.	Craun — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Lat — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	St. Maria — — —	$2\frac{1}{8}$	7

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST	TOUR in 1779.			
	<i>over the Bralio</i>			
7.	Bormio	— —	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Sondalo	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Tirano	— — —	3	10
	Teglio	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Sondrio	— — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	P. St. Pietro	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Morbegno	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	to Dalebio	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Morbegno	— —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Sondrio	— — —	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	14
	Chiesà	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Casaccia	— —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
SEPT.	Bondo	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
17.	Chiavenna	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Isola	— — —	3	10
18.	Splugen	— — —	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	11
	Andeer	— — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
19.	Tufis	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Reichenau	— —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
20.	COIRE	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	to Haldenstein	— —	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
	COIRE	— — —	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
	Churwalden	— —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Fatszerol	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
24.	Alvenew	— —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	An der Wiesen	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Glaris	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
25.	Davos	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Laret	— — —	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Kublis	— — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Schiers	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
26.	Malans	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Pfeffers	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	to the Baths	— — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Pfeffers	— — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Zitzers	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
27.	COIRE	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Reichenau	— —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
TOUR in 1779.			
SEPT.			
	Trins — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Ilantz — — —	3	10
28.	Truns — — —	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
29.	Difentis — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Ciamut — — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
30.	Urseren — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Wafen — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
OCT.	Am Steg — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1.	ALTDORF — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Fluelen — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to		
	Brunnen — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to		
	SCHWEITZ — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Brunnen — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	by water to		
2.	Gerisau — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Buochs — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
	by land to		
	STANTZ — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Stantzstad — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to		
3.	LUCERNE — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to		
	Honau — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Knonau — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Albis — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
4.	ZURIC — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Basserstorf — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Winterthur — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
5.	to Frauenfield — — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
6.	ZURIC — — —	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	24
	Dieticon — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	BADEN — — —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
	Konigsfelden — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	to the Baths of Schintznach	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Hapsburgh — — —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
	Bruck — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
OCT.	TOUR in 1779.		
	Stille — — —	$\frac{7}{8}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$
	Klingnau — — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	7. Waldshut — — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$

TOUR in 1785.

JULY	<i>ENTERED Switzerland</i>		
	<i>from MUNICH,</i>		
18.	<i>at SCHAFFHAUSEN</i> —		
19.	<i>to the Cataract at Lauffen</i> —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	SCHAFFHAUSEN —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>Lotstetten</i> — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	<i>Eglisau</i> — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Bulach</i> — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	<i>Kloten</i> — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
20.	ZURIC — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	<i>Meile</i> — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>by water to</i>		
	<i>Weddenschweil</i> —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	<i>by land to</i>		
24.	<i>Richliswich</i> — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>by water to</i>		
	<i>I. of Ufnau</i> — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	<i>Rapperschwyl</i> —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>by land to</i>		
	<i>Grunengen</i> — —	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$
25.	<i>Ustar</i> — —	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>by water to</i>		
	<i>Falanden</i> — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>by land to</i>		
26.	ZURIC — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
VOL. II.	3 R		

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
TOUR in 1785.				
JULY				
	Regensburg	—	3	10
	<i>to the top of the</i>			
	Lagerberg	— —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
AUG. 2.	Zuric	— —	4	13
	<i>by water to</i>			
	BADEN	— —	4	13
	<i>by land to</i>			
	Windisch	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Konigsfelden	—	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
	<i>to the Baths of Schintznach</i>	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Hapsburg	— —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
4.	Bruck	— —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>by water to</i>			
	Lauffenburg	—	8	26
5.	BASLE	— —	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
6.	<i>to STRASBURG.—Returned</i>			
	<i>to</i>			
12.	BASLE	— —		
	<i>by land to</i>			
	Arlesheim	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	BASLE	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Reinach	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Grellingen	— —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Lauffen	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Delmont	— —	3	10
	Corrandelin	— —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Munster	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
15.	Molleray	— —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Pierre Pertuis	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Reucknete	— —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	BIENNE	— —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Grenche	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7
16.	SOLEURE	— —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Kilchberg	— —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Hindelbank	—	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
18.	BERNE	— —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Worb	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Signau	— —	3	10

Dates.				Distances.	
	TOUR in 1785.			Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST					
	Langenau	—	—	1½	5
	Eschblisimat	—	—	3	10
	Skuepfen	—	—	1½	5
21.	Entlibuch	—	—	2½	8¼
	Wolbhausen	—	—	2⅛	7
	Malters	—	—	2	6½
22.	LUCERNE	—	—	2⅛	7
	Winke	—	—	1	3¼
	by water to				
	Alpnach	—	—	2	6½
	by land to				
	Sarne	—	—	1½	5
	by water to				
	Saxelen	—	—	½	1½
	by land to				
	Kernwald	—	—	1½	5
24.	STANTZ	—	—	2	6½
	Graffenort	—	—	2¼	7½
25.	Engelberg	—	—	2	6½
	over the Suren Alps to				
26.	ALTDORF	—	—	5	16½
	Am Steg	—	—	2½	8¼
	Wäfen	—	—	2	6½
	Urseren	—	—	1¾	5¾
27.	Hospital	—	—	1	3¼
	to Spital on St. Gotthard	—	—	1¾	5¾
28.	Hospital	—	—	2	6½
	Realp	—	—	1¾	5¾
	over the Furca and Grimsel				
29.	to Spital	—	—	5½	18
	Handeck	—	—	2	6½
30.	Meyringen	—	—	4	13
31.	Grindelwald	—	—	4½	14¾
SEPT. 1.	Lauterbrunnen	—	—	3	10
	Leisungen	—	—	3	10
	Æschi	—	—	1	3¼
3.	Frutigen	—	—	2¼	7½
	Kandersteg	—	—	3	10
	3 R 2				

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
	TOUR in 1785.		
SEPT.			
	<i>Winteregg</i> — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>over the Gemmi to</i>		
4.	<i>Baths of Leuk</i> — —	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>Siders</i> — — —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>St. Leonard</i> — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
5.	<i>SION</i> — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	<i>Ridda</i> — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Martigny</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
6.	<i>Trient</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
7.	<i>the Priory</i> — — —	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
8.	<i>ascended Montanvert</i>		
	<i>Valorfine</i> — — —	3	10
	<i>Trient</i> — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
10.	<i>Martigny</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>St. Maurice</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Bex</i> — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>to Bevioux</i> — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
11.	<i>Bex</i> — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Aigle</i> — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	<i>Villeneuve</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
	<i>Vevay</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
	<i>by water to</i>		
12.	<i>Meillerie</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Ouchy</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	9
	<i>by land to</i>		
13.	<i>LAUSANNE</i> — — —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
	<i>Morges</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Rolle</i> — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	<i>Nyon</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Copet</i> — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
16.	<i>GENEVA</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
27.	<i>to LYONS.—Returned to</i>		
OCT. 6.	<i>PONTARLIER</i> — —		
	<i>St. Pierre</i> — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>Verrieres</i> — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<i>Motiers</i> — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	<i>Travers</i> — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>Roche fort</i> — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
		TOUR in 1785.		
OCT.				
7.		NEUCHATEL —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
		<i>Thielle</i> — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
		<i>Anet</i> — —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
8.		<i>Walperschwyl</i> —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
		Morat — — —	4	13
9.		FRIBURGH — —	4	13
		Morat — — —	4	13
		<i>Greng</i> — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		by water to		
		<i>Motier</i> — —	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
		to Mount Vuilly —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Greng</i> — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
		by land to		
12.		<i>Coujourvaux</i> —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		Morat — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		Arberg — — —	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
		Nidau — — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
13.		BIENNE — —	$\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$
		<i>Reuchnete</i> — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Pierre Pertuis</i> —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Tavannes</i> — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Bellelay</i> — — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
		<i>Glovillier</i> — —	3	10
14.		PORENTRU — —	4	13
		Grandvillard —	3	10
		Beffort — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
		Altkirch — — —	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$20\frac{1}{2}$
15.		BASLE — — —	6	20
		<i>Blotzheim</i> — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
		MULHAUSEN —	$3\frac{3}{8}$	11

Dates.				Distances.	
	TOUR in 1786.			Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.					
	<i>ENTERED Switzerland</i>				
	<i>from PARIS and DIJON,</i>				
	<i>through</i>				
	PONTARLIER — —				
	St. Pierre — —			1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Joigne — —			2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
18.	Orbe — —			3 $\frac{3}{8}$	11
19.	St. Barthelemi — —			2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
20.	Morges — —			3 $\frac{5}{8}$	12
	Rolle — —			2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Nyon — —			2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Copet — — —			1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
23.	to GENEVA — —			2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Copet — — —			2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Nyon — — —			1 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Rolle — — —			2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
29.	Morges — —			2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
30.	St. Barthelemi — —			3 $\frac{5}{8}$	12
OCT. 1.	Orbe — —			2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Yverdon — —			2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Granfon — —			1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	St. Aubin — —			3	10
2.	Boudri — — —			1 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
3.	NEUCHATEL — —			1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	St. Blaise — —			1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Neuville — —			1 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	by water to				
	I. St. Peter — —			1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Neuville — —			1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
	by land to				
4.	NEUCHATEL — —			2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Thielle — — —			1 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Anet — — —			1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Walperschwyl — —			2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Morat — —			4	13
	to Villars — — —			$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Morat — — —			$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
		TOUR in 1786.		
OCT.				
5.		<i>Greng</i> — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>by water to</i>		
		<i>Motier</i> — — —	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
		<i>Greng</i> — — —	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
		<i>by land to</i>		
		<i>Coujouxvaux</i> —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
9.		<i>to FRIBURGH</i> —	$3\frac{5}{8}$	12
11.		<i>Greng</i> — —	4	13
		<i>Morat</i> — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Gimmenen</i> —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Riederen</i> — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
13.		<i>BERNE</i> — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
		<i>Maffic</i> — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
17.		<i>to Thun</i> — —	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Maffic</i> — — —	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Worb</i> — — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
18.		<i>BERNE</i> — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
		<i>Hindelbank</i> — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
		<i>Kilchberg</i> — —	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
		<i>Burberg</i> — — —	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$12\frac{1}{4}$
		<i>Murgenthal</i> — —	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
19.		<i>Zoffingen</i> — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Tagmersellen</i> —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Surfee</i> — — —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
		<i>Adelwil</i> — — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
20.		<i>LUCERNE</i> — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Honau</i> — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
		<i>Knonau</i> — — —	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
		<i>Albis</i> — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
21.		<i>ZURIC</i> — — —	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
		<i>Basserstorf</i> — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Winterthur</i> —	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
		<i>Illikon</i> — — —	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
24.		<i>Frauenfeld</i> —	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
		<i>Mulheim</i> — — —	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>CONSTANCE</i> —	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>Zell</i> — — —	$5\frac{1}{2}$	18

Dates.		Distances.	
	TOUR in 1786.	Leagues.	Miles.
OCT.			
25.	SCHAFFHAUSEN —	5½	18
	Neunkirch — —	2	6½
	Lauchingen —	3	10
26.	Waldshut —	3	10
	Lauffenburg —	3	10
	Seckingen —	1½	5
	Rheinfelden —	2	6½
28.	BASLE — —	3	10

N° 4.

A CATALOGUE of the principal Books occasionally consulted in
the Course of this Publication.

A.

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Francois Joseph Nicolas d'Alt de Tiefenthal *Histoire des Helvetiens.* 10 vols. 8vo. Friburgh, 1750—1753.

Aporta's *Historia Reformationis Ecclesiarum Rheticarum.* 2 vols. 4to. Curiae Rætorum 1771, 1777.

Andrea's *Briefe aus der Schweiz nach Hanover geschrieben.* 4to. Zurich and Winterthur, 1776.

B.

Tableaux Topographiques Pittoresques, Physiques, Historiques, Moraux, Politiques, et Littéraires de la Suisse. Par M. de la Borde. Fol. Paris. 216 plates. The text is chiefly written by Baron Zurlauben of Zug.

Manuel pour les Savans et les Curieux qui Voyagent en Suisse ; par M. Besson. Lausanne. 2 vols. 8vo. 1786.

Memoires Critiques pour servir d'Eclaircissements sur divers Points de l'Histoire ancienne de la Suisse, &c. ; par Charles Guill Loys de Bochat. Lausanne. 3 vols. 4to. 1747—1749.

Nouvelle Description générale et particuliere des Glacieres, Vallées de Glace, et Glaciers qui forment la grande Chaine des Alpes. Par M. Bourrit. 3 vols. 8vo. Geneva. 1785.

Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland and Italy, &c. Written by G. Burnet. 8vo. London. 1686.

D & F.

Dictionnaire de la Suisse. 2 vols. 8vo. Translated into German, and greatly augmented, under the following title: *Historische, Geographische, und Physikalische Beschreibung des Schweizerlandes.* 3 vols. 8vo. Bern. 1782.

Johan Conrad Faefis Pfarrer der Gemeinde Uetikon *Staats und Erdbeschreibung der Schweizerischen Eidgenosschaft ;* durch Joh. Conrad Fuefslin. 4 vols. 8vo. Zurich. 1768.

Joh. Caspar Fuefslin's *Geschichte der Besten Kuenstler in der Schweiz.* 5 vols. 8vo. Zurich. 1769.

Staats und Erbschreibung der Schweizerischen Eidgenosschaft ; durch Joh. Conrad Fuefslin. 4 vols. 8vo. Zurich. 1770.

G.

Histoire abrégée des Officiers Suisses qui se sont distingués aux Services Etrangers dans des Grades superieurs. Par l' Abbé Francois Girard. 3 vols. 8vo. Fribourg. 1781, 1782.

Die Eisgebuerge des Schweitzerlandes beschrieben von GOTTLIEB SIGMUND GRUNER. Bern. 3 vols. 8vo. 1760.

Rætia Das-ist Aufsfuehrliche undwarrhafte Beschreibung der dreyen loeblichen Grawen Buendten und anderer Rætischen Voelker. Durch Johann Guler von Weineck. Fol. Coira. 1616.

H.

Hacquet's Physikalische Politische Reise aus den Dinarischen Rætischen in die Norischen Alpen, in Jahre 1781 und 1783 unternommen. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1785. Gottlieb EMANUEL VON HALLER, &c. *Bibliothek der Schweizer Geschichte und aller Theile so dahin Bezug haben.* 6 vols. 8vo. Bern. 1785—1788. A seventh volume, contains a general index.

Helvetische Bibliothek. 6 vols. 8vo. Zurich. 1735—1741.

Briefe ueber die Schweiz. Von C. C. L. Hirschfeld. 2 vols. 12mo. Leipzig. 1776, 1785.

K.

A short Account of the Antient History, present Government, and Laws, of the Republic of Geneva; by G. Keate, Esq. 8vo. London. 1761.

Kuettner's Briefe eines Sachsens aus der Schweiz an seinem Freund in Leipzig. 3 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1785—1786.

L.

Jacob Lauffer's *Profess. Eloq. et Hist. Genaue und Umstaendliche Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte, &c.* 18 vols. 8vo. Zurich. 1736—1739.

Leu's *Allgemeines Helvetisches Eydgenossisches oder Schweizerisches Lexicon.* Zurich. 20 vols. 4to. 1747—1765. Supplement, 2 vols. 4to.

Memorie Istoriche della Valtelina, da Pietro Angelo Lavizzari. 4to. Coira. 1716.

M.

Meiner's Briefe ueber die Schweiz, 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin. 1784, 1785.

Leonard Meister's *Helvetiens Beruehmte Maenner.* 2 vols. 8vo. Zurich. 1782, 1786.

—— *Beruehmte Zuericher.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1782.

—— *Kleine Reise durch einige Schweitzer Cantone.* 8vo. Basel. 1782.

—— *Hauptscenen der Helvetischen Geschichte.* 8vo. 2 vols. 1784.

Leonard

Leonard Meister's *Helvetische Szenen der neuern Schwärmerey und Intoleranz*. 2 vols. 8vo. 1785.

——— *Geschichte von Zurich*. 8vo. Zurich. 1786.

——— *Abriss des Eydgenössischen Staatsrechtes*. 8vo. St. Gallen. 1786.

Geschichte Schweizerischer Eydgenossenschaft. Durch Johannes Mueller. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1786.

P.

Helvetia Antiqua et Nova, Opera et studio Joh. Bapt. Plantini. 8vo. Bermæ. 1656; also Tig. Helvet. 1737.

Q.

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R.

Voyages Mineralogiques en Suisse. Par M. le Comte Gregorie de Razomoffki. 8vo. Lausanne. 1783, 1784.

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S.

Voyages dans les Alpes. Par H. B. de Saussure, &c. 2 vols. 4to, or 4 in 8vo. Geneve.

Scheutzeri Itinera Alpina. 4 vols. 4to. Lugdun. 1723.

Beytraege Zur naebern Kenntniss des Schweizerlandes. Von Rudolf Schintz. Zurich. 8vo. 1785—1786.

Geschichte der Entlibucher Von Joseph Xaveri Schnider von Wartensee. 8vo. 2 vols. Luzern. 1781, 1782.

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Histoire Littéraire de Geneve. Par M. Sennebier. 3 vols. 8vo. Geneve. 1786.

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- spiciis reformat. fidei ad hæc usque tempora ex antiqui nominis Scriptoribus exoticis collegit simul nonnullas in civitatibus Helveticis mutationes factas paucis enarravit.*
 Tiguri. 1734. 8vo. pages 609.
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 Stanyan's *Account of Switzerland.* 8vo. London.
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T.

- Tcharner's *Historie der Eydgenossen.* 2 vols. 8vo. Bern. 1756—1768.
 Ægidii Tchudi *De prisca ac vera Alpina Rhetia.* 4to. Basel. 1738.
 ————— *Chronicon Helveticum, &c.* Herausgegeben von Johann Rudolf Iselin. 2 vols. Fol. Basel. 1734, 1736.
Thesaurus Historiæ Helveticæ. Fol. Tiguri. 1735.
Statuti della Valtelina, &c. *Della Latina nella volgar Lingua tradotta.* Par M. Giorgio Traverso. 4to. Coira. 1737.

W.

- Historia Naturalis Helvetiæ curiosa, in VII Sectiones digesta.* Authore Jo. Jacob Wagnero. 12mo. Tiguri. 1680.
Histoire de la Confédération Helvétique. Par M. Alexandre Louis de Wattewillè. 2 vols. 8vo. Bern. 1758. also Yverdon. 1768.
 D'Ivernois *Tableau Historique et Politique des Révolutions de Geneve.* a Geneve, 1782. Translated into English, and published under the following title:
An Historical and Political View of the Constitution and Revolutions of Geneva in the Eighteenth Century. By Francis D'Ivernois, Esq. Dublin. 1784.
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